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# TRAVELS

THROUGH

THE NORTHERN PARTS

OF THE

# UNITED STATES,

IN

THE YEARS 1807 AND 1808.

BY EDWARD AUGUSTUS KENDALL, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME III.

*NEW-YORK:*

Printed and published by I. Riley.

1809.

Checked

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"Travels through the Northern parts of the United States, in the "years 1807 and 1808, by Edward Augustus Kendall, Esq. In three "volumes. Volume III."

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# TRAVELS

THROUGH

# PART OF THE UNITED STATES.

## CHAPTER LX.

### *Names of Parties.*

OF political parties, there has appeared, in these chapters, little more than the names; but, even the names appear to demand elucidation. A former traveller* apologizes for having introduced into his book the names *federalist* and *anti-federalist;* and, I, perhaps, owe an apology for having continued to employ them. His apology is made to depend on the necessity, which is sometimes imposed upon a writer of travels, to adopt the terms of the country of

* The Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt.

which he writes; but, mine will be found, not only in the convenience which attends the preservation of terms once understood, but in the difficulties which, in this instance, would attend the substitution of any others.

Federalist and anti-federalist are the terms best known to the general reader, by which to distinguish the two political parties in the United States; but, in the United States themselves, one of these terms, the term *anti-federalist*, appears to be obsolete. Meanwhile, it is in the name alone that the change consists; the antagonism is continued between the same persons, and the same principles, as formerly; and there is, therefore, no necessity for our following the prejudices, the passions or the intrigues, by which alone any variation of names is occasioned.

But if, nevertheless, we were disposed to speak the political language of the day, much embarrassment would attend the choice that we should have to make.

Among the more modern compellations of the federalists, the favourite ones are *traitors*, *tories*, *damned tories*, and *British tories;* and, among those of the anti-federalists, are *jacobins*, *French tories*, *republicans* and *democrats*. With each of these, and with its signification and appropriation, it is necessary to be acquainted, in order to read and listen with edification,

in the United States; but, upon which, of all the list, a stranger ought to fix his choice, either for his tongue, or for his pen, it might not be easy to determine.

To the general reader, the term *republican* conveys no other idea, than that of a person whose political opinions are unfavourable to a regal government; or, in other words, whose opinions are favourable to a republican. But, the government of the United States is republican. All its subjects, therefore, being loyal subjects, are republicans; and how shall a writer make himself understood, if he suffers himself to employ, as the name of a party, a name which is the common property of the nation? In point of fact, the federalists are not silent in their claims in this regard, but often call themselves *federal* republicans. The same want of exclusive signification will be allowed to the term *Americans*, which it has occasionally pleased each party to take to itself only.

In a situation similar to that of the term *republican*, is the term *democrat*. The government of the United States is a democracy; and, therefore, every loyal subject of that government is a *democrat*. But, things are otherwise understood in the United States.

By the exclusive assumption of the name *republican*, the assuming party designs to throw, up-

on the other, the stigma, (for a stigma, in these countries, it is generally supposed to be,) of a fondness for a regal government. By the name *democrat* is intended, a democrat of a peculiar school.

Democracy consists in a government of the people, and every man, that is willing to vest the government in the people, is a democrat. But, democracy is, therefore, a term, which, after defining the seat of the public authority, is, for the rest, of the loosest signification. A democracy, not less than any other form of government, may be differently modified.

But, democracy, without its modification, is mere matter of theory; and, to be made matter of practice, it must be modified: that is, it must receive a practical form. To say, *The people shall govern*, is to advance what is merely theoretical; to say, that *The people shall govern in this or that manner*, is to supply the practice.

But, it is precisely this question of practice, and not the question of theory, that divides the two parties in the United States, of which the one adopts, and the other shrinks from, the name of *democrat*. Both are champions of *a government of the people*, as the basis of their views; both are champions of that *form of a government of the people* which is contained in

the constitution of government of the United States; but, these particulars determined, an infinity of others successively present themselves; and, upon every one, perhaps, of these, they disagree.

It is from France that the *democrats* of the United States have derived, as well their name, as much of what is peculiar in their tenets. The name was adopted at the era of the French revolution, and, is understood to imply, an attachment to the general principles of that revolution, as well as to the particular and political interests and practices of France. For the followers of these combined views, the only term, hitherto used in Europe, by their enemies, is *jacobin*. The French *jacobins* called themselves *des démocrats*.

But, to the principles of the French revolution, and to the particular and political interests and practices of France, the federalists are hostile. To them, the questions of jacobinism and anti-jacobinism have appeared nearly in the same light as to the enemies of jacobinism in Europe.

*Democracy*, therefore, is the name of a sect in philosophy, as well as of a party in foreign and domestic politics. The sect and the party are commonly espoused by the same individual; and the individual, so espousing, calls himself, and is called, a *democrat;* and a democrat is an *anti-*

*federalist.* The individual, who espouses an opposite system, as to his philosophical tenets, and as to his views of the foreign and domestic policy of the United States, is called a *federalist.*

To weigh the merits of the principles of these parties, either as matter of general philosophy, or as applicable and applied to the United States, is not, in this place, my intention. I confine myself to definitions of their names. But, in the following language of a Boston partisan, the reader will see a solemn statement of the differences, depending between the two, such as it is generally considered to be, by the federalists, not only of Boston, but of all this part of the country:

" MANY people indulge an opinion, that the " divisions, which now agitate the public mind, " originate *merely* in a difference of sentiment, " respecting certain principles in politics, or " the best mode of administering govern- " ment. This is a sad mistake. Observe at- " tentively the characters of those, who compose " a major part of the class called *democrats;* " remark, likewise, the tenor of the instructions " addressed to them, through their public prints; " —it will, then, be impossible not to see, that the " controversy is of a more serious nature: that

" the points in dispute go to the foundation of " social establishments, and aim at a total revolu- " tion in the present state of society; that igno- " rance, prejudice, profligacy and their conco- " mitant, want, are marshalled and combined " against all laudable eminence.

" It is true, that some informed, but unprin- " cipled men, are making use of these instru- " ments, solely with a view to effect their own " selfish plans, in pursuit of office; but, should " their object be accomplished, the evil will not " end here.

" That malignant hostility, which they have " fostered, against those, who either by inhe- " ritance or industry, have arrived at affluence, " will pursue its career, like a torrent. The " line of affluence is not easily drawn; compe- " tence will be the second sacrifice. Men of " intrigue can easily raise the worst passions; " they can lead them in the work of destruction; " but they cannot stay them at pleasure: that " sovereignty, which they have flattered, will be " maintained, and will triumph, over truth and " justice, until, in the course of events, the strong " arm of 'physical power' will again restore " order; and that, for a time, at the expense of " civil liberty."

## CHAPTER LXI.

*Massachusetts—Charlestown—Cambridge—Harvard College.*

THE environs of Boston contain, not only well built, but populous villages, of which the most remarkable are Cambridge and Charlestown, both approached, as it will be remembered, by bridges. Charlestown, on the north-east, has an inlet of the sea, called, from a little stream that falls into it, Mistic River. In the town are Bunker's, Breed's and Barrell's Hills. It was Breed's Hill, as it is now said, and not Bunker's, on which the battle took place, in the year 1775. Another variation in the historical topography of Charlestown is to be noticed; namely, that the hill, which is now called Barrell's, was more anciently called Cobble's.—On Breed's Hill is a monument, dedicated to the memory of Major-general Warren, who fell in the battle. On Barrell's Hill there is a large and elegant mansion; and Breed's Hill promises to be soon covered with buildings.

Charlestown, which is busily engaged in commerce, in ship-building, and in a great variety

of manufactures, composes with Boston one port of entry. It has a handsome congregational church, and an alms-house; and it contains the state-prison of Massachusetts, a building and establishment in which, perhaps, every thing, that humanity and wisdom can suggest, is accomplished, for the comfort and reform of the prisoners. Here, as in the other gaols in the United States, some prisoners are condemned to remain for life, and others for terms of years. Within the prison, and surrounding a very spacious court, are work-shops, for shoemaking, nail-making, brass-founding and other manufactures; and nothing, in the appearance of the shops or of the prisoners, remind a visitor that he is walking through a gaol. The cells, to which the prisoners retire at night, are strong, and well secured; but they are at the same time sufficiently large and airy.

Cambridge presents a contrast to Charlestown, which it adjoins on the west; for, here, we are in a degree sequestered from the bustle of commerce, and led to the halls of a university, for which an antiquity of more than a century and a half begins to demand some veneration.

This town contains two parishes, severally called Cambridge and Menotomy. Little Cambridge, lately a third parish, has been erect-

ed into a town itself, under the denomination of Brighton. Cambridge, Brighton, Watertown and Waltham, all bordered by Charles River, contain, amid agreeable landscapes, a great number of houses that exhibit, both within and without, much wealth and taste. Mr. Gore's, in Waltham, at nine miles from Boston, built and fitted up in patrician style, is the most elegant mansion in New England. It is of red brick, a rare circumstance out of the cities and villages, other gentlemen's houses being generally of wood, and painted white. The library and other apartments display a love and knowledge of the fine arts; and the grounds, though not particularly indebted to nature, are well laid out. Mr. Lyman, in the same town, has embellished his residence with made grounds, in a good taste, and at a very large expense. Mr. Lyman has also a handsome collection of exotics. The house and grounds of Mr. Gorham Parsons are strictly a *ferme ornée;* and though they do not in all respects resemble Shenstone's Leasowes, they are of the same description. As commanding a very beautiful prospect, the residence which still surpasses those that I have mentioned, is that of Mr. Pomeroy; and this is in a particular manner grateful to my recol-

lection, on account of the friendship and kindness that I experienced in it.

Menotomy* contains Mr. Whitmore's manufactory of cotton and wool-cards, in which the work is performed by patent machinery, singularly ingenious. The manufacture of cards consists in inserting close and sharp teeth of slender wire into a back of leather, which is itself afterward backed with wood, for use; and the points of the teeth require to be crooked. The machine, set in motion by a lathe, and performing seven operations at the same instant, draws the wire, cuts it into lengths, punctures the leather, takes the teeth as it were between its fingers, inserts them into the leather, fastens them at the back of the leather, and bends their points; the aid of the manufacturer being required merely to place the leather, and to work the lathe.

Harvard College, otherwise called the University of Cambridge, was, in its original foundation, only a public school, for the establishment of which, in the year 1637, or six years after the first settlement of Massachusetts, the *court* directed the sum of 400*l.* currency, to be paid out of the public treasury. In the year 1638, the Reverend Mr. John Harvard died, leaving a legacy of

* Miantonomy.

767*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* and the court, in acknowledgment of the liberality of the benefaction, ordered that the school should take the name of Harvard College. In 1640, it received its first president, in the person of the Reverend Mr. Henry Dunster. Its graduates this year, were thirty-five in number.

In the year 1761, on the death of George II. and the accession of his present Majesty, Harvard College, or, as on this occasion, it styles itself, Cambridge College, produced a volume of tributary verses, in English, Latin and Greek, entitled, *Pietas et Gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos ;** and this collection, the first received, and as it has since appeared, the last to be received, from this seminary, by an English king, was cordially welcomed by the critical journals of the time,† and has lately been called into notice, as an object of grateful recollection, by the Boston journal which I have recently mentioned.

The introductory address, which is well written, is supposed to be from the pen of Governor Hutchinson : " The college," says one of its paragraphs, " in behalf of which we have pre-

* Bostoni, Massachusettensium, typis J. Green et J. Russell, 1761.

† Monthly Review, vol. xxix, p. 22. Critical Review, vol. x, p. 284.

" sumed to lay before your majesty this most " humble offering, is by much the oldest seat of " learning in your American dominions: it has " by many years exceeded its first century, and " it has prospered as well as could have been ex- " pected, considering all the disadvantages it has " lain under. It was founded in a country where " the people have aimed at little more than an in- " dependent subsistence, and have had few super- " fluities for public foundations. It has had very " little assistance from our mother country; the " whole amount being some private benefactions, " which we most gratefully acknowledge. No- " thing but an extraordinary zeal for religion and " learning, which has always prevailed among this " people, could have brought it to what it is."

The Boston critics, with a candour which does them honour, and which is the best proof of their present acquirements, and the best foundation for our hopes of their future ones, betray no wish to extol above its merits this offspring of their Alma Mater. They observe, that " the " English pieces are generally not very remarka- " ble for good poetry;" but they are pleased with the following Latin one, which they attribute to " the accomplished and classical Dr. Winthrop:"

DUM servat stellus oculis HALLEIUS acutis,
Et varias cœli perspicit arte vices;

Sidere quo crebris alerentur ab imbribus amnes,
Et lætas segetes arva rigata ferant,
Et quo spirantes Zephyri felicibus auris
Classibus Angliacis æquora tuta darent;
Dumque ita non æquo volventes orbe Planetas
Ex medio lucem sole referre videt,
Congressus Senior Veneris cum sole futuros
Prospiciens tantoque omine lætus ait:
" Qualia volvendo non secula lapsa tutere
" Hæc miranda æstas una eademque dabit.
" Apparet facies rerum pulcherrima cœlo,
" Nec minor in terris conspicietur honos.
" Quo splendore novus thalamo sol aureus exit,
" Georgius hoc cinctum fert juvenile caput;
" Nec Venus ætherios micat inter purior ignes,
" Virgineos ornat quam Caroletta choros:
" His cito conjunctus sociali lege, videtur
" Æmula stellanti terra Britannia polo."

After praising the contributions of Governor Bernard, they finish with a modest remark on the present state of the college, and with expressing a hope, for the fulfilment of which, they must have our warmest wishes:—" We extract the conclu-
" sion, by this gentleman; and having thus recall-
" ed the reader's eye to a specimen of our classical
" state, at the distance of half a century, we shall
" hardly venture to suggest, that our progress
" has been scarcely equal to our promise, but
" content ourselves with hoping, that the agree-
" able prognostics, in the following lines, will one
" day be verified, and that *America* will be not

" only a free, but a learned, a liberal and a " generous *people.*"*

EPILOGUS.

ISIS et Camus, placide fluentes,
Quà novem fastos celebrant sorores,
Deferunt Vatum pretiosa Regi
Dona Britanno.

Audit hæc flumen, prope Bostonenses
Quod Novanglorum studiis dicatas
Ablui sedes, eademque sperat
Munera ferre.

Obstat huic Phœbus, chorus omnis obstat
Virginum; frustra officiosa pensum
Tenat insuetum indocilis ferire
Plectra juventus.

Attamen si quid studium placendi,
Si valant quidquam pietas fidesque
Civica, omnino rudis haud peribit
Gratia Musæ.

Quin erit tempus, cupidi augurantur
Vana ni Vates, sua cum Novanglio
Grandius quoddam, meliusque carmen
Chorda sonabit.

The college edifices comprise a chapel and four halls, which latter are respectively called Harvard, Massachusetts, Hollis and Stoughton

* Monthly Anthology, vol. vi, p. 427.

Halls. Harvard Hall contains only public rooms. In the library there are about sixteen thousand volumes. The museum is boasted to contain the most extensive collection of specimens, in mineralogy and geology, in the United States. One portion was contributed by Dr. Lettsom, of London, and another by the government of France: the latter the year 1794. This collection is at present under the particular care of Dr. Waterhouse, one of the professors of the university, and an industrious naturalist and lecturer. To this gentleman his countrymen are indebted for many early exertions in the cause of vaccination, and for an attempt, honourable though little successful, to redeem them from the use of tobacco. At Harvard college, even the youngest students chew and smoke, and smoke, too, before dinner. In the vicinity of the college, boys may be seen, in summer, walking in cotton gowns, and with cigarrs in their mouths.

In 1805, a professorship of natural history was founded by private subscription; and the same species of assistance has also been given to the establishment of a large Botanic Garden. For this latter object, two towns, still in forest, situate on the Kennebec, and estimated at the value of from twenty-three thousand to twenty-five thousand dollars, have been granted by the government, and twelve

thousand dollars have been raised by subscription. The ground is purchased and ploughed.

Opposite to the college, on the other side of a large green, is a church belonging to the church of England. In the rebellion, the Reverend Mr. Apthorpe, the clergyman who served it, was driven by political rage from his cure. The members of the church of England, in Connecticut and Massachusetts, were at that period the objects of general violence and barbarity; and the loyalty, by which they provoked this treatment, deserves the profound attention of every British statesman.—The constitution of England is but regarded superficially, if it is not seen to be at once civil and ecclesiastical; the connection is inseparable; and, in the late colonies, the friends of the church are proved, by the persecution which they suffered, to have been, with few exceptions, the friends of the state.—The pulpit was one of the engines, employed, in New England, to detach the people from the mother country; and, in the denunciations which fell from it, its church was not forgotten. Inflamed by sermons and prayers, the people fell into various excesses of the religious class, of one of which the church at Cambridge was the scene. The remains of an officer, of General Burgoyne's army, detained at this village on his parole, being car-

ried to it for interment, the people, during the time the service was performing, "seized "the opportunity of the church being open, "which had been shut since the commence- "ment of hostilities, to plunder, ransack, "and deface every thing they could lay their "hands on, destroying the pulpit, reading- "desk, and communion-table; and ascending "the organ-loft, they destroyed the bellows, and "broke all the pipes of a very handsome instru- "ment."*

With respect to the outrages then committed on the persons of political victims, the dispositions that produced them remain, and wait only for occasions to burst forth. Tarring and feathering is still in good repute in Massachusetts, as well as in other parts of the United States. The practice is recommended in the following extract of a letter from Brigadier-General William Eaton, a citizen of this republic, dated at Washington, November 4th, 1807, and published by his friends:

"IF the enclosed intelligence be founded in fact, "here is an end to our silken dreams of peace, "or of our national dignity and independence. "The tone of the British cabinet is veered by

* Travels through the Interior Parts of America, &c. By an Officer. London, 1791.

" every incidental change of war. Successful,
" they are insolent—unfortunate, they are equivo-
" cal—and in a medium no-where. If the ill-
" fated capital of Denmark had been able to
" resist her piratical invaders, unquestionably
" our commissioners would have succeeded in
" their negotiation. But, it seems, the die is
" cast—and we have only an alternative—once
" more to appeal to heaven and the sword, or
" sink into baseness, and beget slaves. If the in-
" discriminate right of search be asserted, who, in
" America, can boast the proud eminence of giv-
" ing birth to freemen? How many of our chil-
" dren now groan in a state of hopeless slavery,
" in the British fleet, infinitely more barbarous
" than that of the captive in Barbary. To the
" common insolence of an English sailor's pride,
" is added their contempt for *American rebels!*
" And our unfortunate fellow-citizens who suf-
" fer in their chains, experience all the servitudes
" of naval service, but they are admitted to none
" of their privileges. There is meanness, as
" much as barbarity, in these outrages.

" A death-blow is given to our commerce;
" but, thank God, we have all the resources of
" life within our shores, and know how to use
" them! War, in its most dazzling aspect, is
" among the deepest curses to a nation, and the
" most to be deprecated. But, if there be no

" other condition of peace left to us but degra-
" dation and slavery, who can long hesitate in
" his choice of measures? If we have *tories*
" among us, hang them; if luke-warm Ameri-
" cans, *tar and feather* them; and send cowards
" to work on roads and fortifications! But, in a
" *dernier*, it is believed, we should have few *ex-*
" *hibitions*, and few *fatigue-men* from those
" classes. It is difficult to find an American
" who does not love his country; or who will
" not indignantly repel any assailant of his right.
" Our materials for war, though rude, are abun-
" dant, strong and ardent. No country can boast
" so great a proportion of young men, fit for
" hardy enterprise, and sensible to glory. And
" we have still, here and there, a *revolutionary* ve-
" teran, who can brook much more patiently the
" idea of a haughty Briton walking on his grave
" than on his honour."

## CHAPTER LXIII.*

*Massachusetts—Salem—Marblehead—Newburyport.*

LYNN, on the road from Boston to Salem, was sometime famous for the manufacture and exportation of shoes; but this was while the first manufacturers were without competitors, and while the work, being performed wholly by apprentices, was unloaded with the expense of journeymen's wages: the apprentices have now set up against their masters; journeymen are employed; the price of the shoes has risen; and the Lynn shoemakers have spread themselves through all the United States.—Shoes, however, are still an article of export, from New England to the southern parts of the United States.

Lynn is watered by a river called the Saugus or Saugaus, by which name the adjacent soil was known, till its erection into a town, in the year 1637. It contains two school and ecclesiastical societies, each supporting the congregational worship, beside a society of methodists,

and many quakers. The road which passes through it is excellent, and the village has an inn which is worthy of its vicinity to a metropolis.

Salem lies on the north-east of Boston, distant nineteen miles. This is a large village, with a port of entry, and a very flourishing trade. Its tonnage, the amout of which is inferior to that of no port in Massachusetts, Boston excepted, is employed in the fisheries, in a trade with Europe, with the coast of Africa and with the East Indies, and in the coasting and carrying-trades. It has a bank and two marine insurance-offices.

Several of the private houses in Salem are of the handsomest appearance, and are remarkable as costly buildings. Contrary descriptions have usually been given; but they were probably drawn before the important era of the French revolution. A corresponding change appears to have made much progress in other points. An absence of all luxury, and an addiction to extreme and disgraceful parsimony, has been attributed to this place,* and its im-

* American Gazetteer.—"Some persons of rank, in "former times, having carried it [economy] to an un- "becoming length, gave a character, to the people in "general, of a disgraceful parsimony."

puted inhospitality has been satirized in a story, that the inhabitants have drawers under their dining-tables, into which to thrust the dishes, in the unwelcome event of a stranger's visit. My experience and observation of Salem affords no foundation for any of these pictures; and particularly in the article of hospitality.

The Reverend Dr. Prince, the inventor of the American air pump, I have already mentioned, as resident in Salem. The claims of this gentleman, as a mechanician, are of the most respectable order. In the Encyclopedia Britannica, the value of his air-pump was depreciated; but, in the supplement to that work, the friends of science and inventive genius have been gratified, by finding an article in which the amplest atonement is made, even to the reprinting, without animadversion, of some harsh, and, perhaps, illiberal reflections on the fault.

Salem is also distinguished by its possession of two gentlemen, zealously devoted, the one to scientific, and the other to learned pursuits. The one is the Reverend Mr. Bentley, an earnest cultivator of the languages, and the other is Mr. Bowditch, no less earnest in the study of the mathematics. The latter is said to have successively acquired most of the modern languages, solely as the means of extending his acquaintance with scientific writers.

A spacious apartment, over one of the insurance-offices, is occupied as a Museum, of the institution, state and management of which, it is not easy to say too much in praise. It is the property of a society, by which it is liberally exhibited to the public, under the sole restraints of limited hours, and the presence of a member of the society. Only captains and supercargoes of vessels, that have sailed on the North West voyage, (that is, the voyage described as originating in the whale-fishery of Nantucket,)* can be members of the society; and on each captain, while he continues to go to sea, the duty is imposed, of keeping, to the utmost of his ability, and according to a plan laid down by the society, a log-book of the voyage; while, on captains and supercargoes together, is further imposed, the duty of collecting, according to their best convenience, all objects of curiosity, whether of nature or art, for the increase of the collection in the Museum. The blank log-books, presented to the captains at their departure, contain printed forms, directing their inquiries to the most interesting objects, not only in navigation and commerce, but in natural history and general knowledge. On the return of the ship, the log-books, that have been filled, are reposited in the

* Chapter lii.

Museum; and though the greater part will necessarily contain very little that is new or very important, no happier method can be devised for collecting and accumulating all that is so. The log-books, are uniform in size, and are to be arranged in volumes; each volume comprising ten: the number actually reposited is fifty.

The society allows itself a convivial meeting on the first Wednesday in November annually, at which it goes abroad in procession, exhibiting various emblems of its pursuits. The Museum, beside resting upon this basis, is also a receptacle for curiosities, from whatever source. In the state of preservation and order that it displays, few collections surpass it; and it is also remarkable for more costly specimens of art than are usual; such as silver hookers and other smoking-instruments of the East-Indies, a complete palanquin, and the figure of a Hindoo, part of the dress of which is a rich India shawl. The collection includes several Egyptian, Italian, Hindoo, and North American rarities, a Japanese Flora, some coins, some specimens of coral lines, madrepores, and other marine productions, and specimens in mineralogy. Among the Hindoo rarities are an elaborate carving in wood, said to have been picked up in the Hoogly, and a hand of stone, broken away and *stolen* from the image of the idol of the temple of Ele-

phanta. The hand rests on the head of a hooded serpent;—but this article in the collection is no ornament, because the strictness of our morals, when the choice is to be made, is of more value and more beauty than the extension of our knowledge. To go into a foreign country, to deface and steal, and particularly to deface the objects that are held sacred in the country, is a practice which no man returning into his own would avow, did we not ourselves notoriously act upon the principle which we attribute so often, and with so much affectation of horror, to the disciples of Mohammed—the principle of keeping no faith with infidels. The model of a machine, for raising mud, invented by General Derby, of Salem, is reposited in the Museum.

Gallows Hill, at a short distance from the port, remains a monument of the fanatical outrages, which, on pretence of witchcraft, were committed in Salem, in the year 1692. It is to Massachusetts alone, as it appears to be intimated, that we are to limit the history of these bloody triumphs of ignorance, at that epoch achieved in New England. One historian assures us that there never was a trial for witchcraft to the eastward of the Piscataqua;* and another, that no *indictment*

* History of the District of Maine. By James Sullivan. Boston, 1795.

for witchcraft, nor any *process*, is recorded in Connecticut. Connecticut, however, is not the more free from the imputation. A young woman, wrought upon by the doctrines of demonology, is said to have confessed an intercourse with the Devil, and to have been hung in consequence, at Hartford, at the instigation of the Reverend Mr. Stone; and an obscure tradition is confessed, by the latter of the two writers referred to, to be handed down, that one or two persons were executed at Stratford.* Hence, it would seem that Connecticut differed from Massachusetts, in its practice on these subjects, only in this, that while Massachusetts adhered to all the forms of law, Connecticut hung without indictment or process. But, I am assured, that some kind of account of the execution at Hartford is preserved in the manuscript records of the colony.

In Salem, hearing some bustle one afternoon, in the street, I went to the window, and beheld a principal officer of Massachusetts, (appointed by the United States,) who, seated in a one horse-chair, had stopped before the door of one of the marine insurance-offices, to relate the news: "Stralsund," said he, "is taken by the "French; and the English have been defeated

* Preface to Dr. Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

" at Copenhagen !" The welcome sounds drew every politician instantly into the street; and every new comer was first greeted with a shake by the hand, then informed of the news, and lastly, carried to the gentleman in the one-horse chair, to shake hands with him too upon the occasion; every one laughing, to show his exceeding joy: " Stralsund is taken," repeated the district-marshal, " and Copenhagen not; *and the English* " *obliged to eat cold pie: that's the great ques-* " *tion!*"

On a peninsula that projects eastward of Salem is Marblehead, a town celebrated for its activity in the fisheries. The village, which is of no inviting appearance, has a large population. That of the whole town, including the village, is said to amount to seven thousand. Marblehead has a hundred sail of vessels, of from seventy to ninety tons each, and carrying from eight to ten men each, employed exclusively in the fishery of the Banks of Newfoundland. It has also from fifty to sixty sail of merchant vessels. About twelve hundred thousand quintals of fish are brought annually into the harbour, and *made* in the village. The fish caught in the harbour are sea-bass, cod-fish, *tautaug* and mackarel. The village contains two churches for congregationalists, and one for members of the church of England; and a bank, a marine insurance-office,

and a custom-house. A fort, erected close to the village, is provided with nineteen or twenty guns, unmounted, but has no garrison. Belonging to the scenery of the place, are its *stacks* of fish.

Almost due north of Salem is Newburyport, at the distance of twenty-three miles, and forty miles distant from Boston. Newburyport abounds in showy buildings of wood, and contains eight churches, of which one belongs to the church of England, one to the anabaptists, and one to the methodists. Newburyport possesses eighty square-rigged vessels, and as many schooners, employed in the trade with Europe and the West Indies; and fifty-four fishing vessels, which fish in the Straits of Belleisle: in all, thirty-four thousand tons of shipping. On board the fishing vessels there are four hundred and ninety men employed, the complement being nine to each.

Newburyport is seated at the mouth of the river Merrimac;* and almost on the boundary line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. On the east bank of the Merrimac, the territory of Massachusetts extends only about six miles; and the same territory is bounded northward, on this river, by the towns of Nottingham and Dunstable in New Hampshire.

* There is a river of the same Indian name (Merimeg or Merrimac,) which falls into the river Mississippi a few miles below Saint Louis.

## CHAPTER LXIV.

*New Hampshire—Portsmouth—Dover.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE has a sea coast of only eighteen miles in length, stretching north-east, from near the mouth of the Merrimac to the mouth of the Piscataqua. Its principal sea-port is that of Portsmouth, in Piscataqua Harbour.

From Newburyport to the two bridges, by aid of which, with the intervention of an island, the wood is carried across the Merrimac, is a distance of three miles; thence to Hampton Falls, seven; to the village of Hampton, five; to that of Northampton, one; to Greenland, seven; and from Greenland to Portsmouth, seven. From Salem to Portsmouth is fifty miles. In one of the bridges, the flooring is suspended from arches of timber, by means of iron chains or links. To the lower end of the chains are appended *stirrups*, in which the beams lay.

Piscataqua Harbour is well defended against all winds, and affords, even near the wharfs of Portsmouth, sixty-two feet of water, at ebb-tide. The village of Portsmouth is the largest in New Hampshire, and has a population of seven thou-

sand souls. It contains three banks ; the Union Bank, New Hampshire Bank and Portsmouth Bank. The buildings are very generally of brick, and there is a handsome brick church. The total number of churches is six, of which there are two congregational, one anabaptist, one universalist, one methodist, and one of the church of England. The present trade of Portsmouth is small, but its inhabitants are said to be wealthy. The fortunes which the latter have acquired they are said to be very unwilling to risk in any new adventure. Vessels as large as two hundred and twenty tons are built in Portsmouth, as well as in Newington, (formerly a part of Portsmouth,) and in Dover and Durham on the Piscataqua ; and at Exeter, on the Swamscot, a river that falls into the Piscataqua. The tide is said to rise eleven feet at Exeter ; but vessels of the burden above described are floated down to the sea, by means of flat boats or lighters, here called *gondolas*, and elsewhere *scows*, brought under them at head and stern.

A writer, who saw Portsmouth in 1760, describes it as " An inconsiderable place, and " built chiefly of wood." The inhabitants of New Hampshire he states at forty thousand; the militia at eight thousand ; and the provincial troops at six or seven hundred. About two hundred ships were then annually built in the

province; and these with cattle, fish and masts for the royal navy, composed the chief exports.

Six miles from Portsmouth, is a bridge, or rather line of bridges, leading across an inlet that adjoins the Piscataqua. In the middle, an arch, of two hundred and forty-four feet in the span, stretches from one island to a second, on which there is an inn and toll-house. The whole length of the bridges, including the islands, is three quarters of a mile. The land, called Point Hilton, on the opposite side of the bridges is a continuation of the west side of the Piscataqua, along which is the road to Cocheco Falls, in the town of Dover.

The town of Dover abuts on that of Somersworth, and is intersected by the small river Cocheco, on which is the cataract called Cocheco Falls. The neck of land, upon which the road passes from the bridge just mentioned, and which has the Piscataqua on the east, and a small river, called Back River, on the west, has been generally remarked as a favourable situation for building a commercial city; and it was here that the first colonists in Dover began their settlement. The early removal backward, to Cocheco Falls, is consistent with the uniform history of the beginnings of all the villages in the country.

The objects of first importance in these settlements are *mills*. If farms are cultivated, then mills are wanted, to make flower of the grain; but if, (as frequently was and is the case, in the countries that we are now entering,) the *lumber-trade* precedes farming, by a period of many years, then mills are indispensable, for sawing boards and plank. The place, therefore, at which a village begins, is either a sea-harbour or other *landing*, where country-produce is exchanged for foreign merchandise, or it is a cataract on a river, or some situation capable of affording a *mill-seat*. In such asituation, the first fabric that is raised is a solitary saw-mill. To this mill, the surrounding *lumberers* or fellers of timber bring their logs, and either sell them, or procure them to be sawed into boards or into plank, paying for the work in logs. The owner of the saw-mill becomes a rich man; builds a large wooden house, opens a shop, denominated a *store*, erects a still, and exchanges rum, molosses, flower and pork, for logs. As the country has by this time begun to be cleared, a flower-mill is erected near the saw-mill. Sheep being brought upon the farms, a carding-machine and fulling-mill follow.

For some years, as we may imagine, the *store* answers all the purposes of a public-house. The neighbours meet there, and spend half the

day, in drinking and in debating. But, the *mills* becoming every day more and more a point of attraction, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, a taylor, and various other artisans and artificers, successively assemble. The village, however, has scarcely advanced thus far, before half its inhabitants are in debt at the *store*, and before the other half are in debt all round. What, therefore, is next wanted is a *collecting-attorney*. Hence, therefore, a new settler, a young man admitted to practice, but without an establishment, whom the store or tavern-keeper receives as a boarder, and whom he employs in collecting his outstanding debts, generally secured by note of hand. The attorney is also employed by the neighbours; and, as the fees on collecting small debts are high, any tolerable increase of the settlement procures him at least a decent living.

But, as the advantage of living near the mills is great, even where there is not (as in numerous instances there is) a navigable stream below the cataract—where it is a cataract that supplies the mill-seat—so a settlement, not only of artisans, but of farmers, is progressively formed in the vicinity; this settlement constitutes itself a society or parish; and, a church being erected, the village, larger or smaller, is complete. As the building-materials are supplied from the contiguous fo-

rests and from the saw-mills, they are cheap; large houses are therefore easily built; and the sides being painted white, and the roofs red, a group of promising exterior is soon raised. On the road-side, log-fences inclose fields of rye and maize, cultivated among the stubs of the trees that have been cut down, or among the naked trunks of those that have been girdled. A dark pine-forest, on every side, shuts up the prospect.

The general quality of the soil, between Salem and Portsmouth, is light. Orchards are numerous; but the apple-trees, along all the maritime parts of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, are infested with worms, insomuch that it is rarely possible to find fruit that is perfectly sound. Cider is here sold at two dollars per barrel, and often at much less. Great quantities of apples are preserved for winter use, by paring and cutting them into quarters, which quarters are then hung out of doors upon strings, or spread upon boards, to dry.

On this road, I saw but little of a flowering-plant generally abundant in the other parts of North America, and known in the English gardens by the name of *golden-rod*. Where it grows, it is one of the chief ornaments of the country, adorning the road-sides, the borders of the fields and of the woods, with its rich spikes of flowers. In its company is also the *Michaelmas daisy*, of

two or three species, increasing the beauty of its appearance by the contrast of flowers, white and purple. The common field-daisy of Europe is no where to be seen. The *violet*, properly so called, is also wanting. The cyanus is a common weed, but the seed was brought with seed-grain from Europe. In this way also, Saint-John's wort has become universal, overrunning all the cultivated grounds. When it was first seen in the colonies, its yellow flower obtained it a welcome, and it was cheerfully called *Saint-John's wort*. When it was perceived to spread too rapidly, (continue my informers,) it was looked upon with jealousy, and called only *John's wort*. When it had taken possession of the fields, and was found unmanageable, it was treated with anger, and called *Devil's wort*.—The most elegant native flowering-plants are the lobelias, scarlet and orange. Of the flowering-shrubs, the most showy and most elegant is the dwarf-laurel. *Spiræa trifoliata*, otherwise called Indian Physic, with its pink blossoms and pale green leaves, is frequent, but is less conspicuous. Ivy and holly are said to be found to the southward, but both are wanting in New England. The locust-tree (*Robinia pseudo-accacia*) is not a native, but is very generally cultivated. Sumach is every where in abundance; but either from a de-

fect in the species, or in the manipulation, it is found unprofitable in commerce. *Datura stramonium*, a bulky annual, bearing its seeds within a large prickly capsule, abounds till we arrive under a certain parallel of north latitude, where it is met by the thistle. On Hudson's River, this parallel has appeared to me to be nearly coincident with that of Glen's or Fort-Edward Falls. In travelling into Maine, I saw the thistle, and lost the stramonium, very soon after I crossed the Piscataqua; and, upon consulting the map, this parallel will be found to be nearly that of Fort-Edward Falls.—As the soil approaches the west bank of Piscataqua, it becomes generally clay; and clay extends from the Piscataqua eastward, to a considerable distance. The road, five miles in length, from the bridge at Hilton's Point to Cocheco Falls, runs over a clayey surface, and through woods of pine and oak trees, in part cleared and built. The same description of country continues to the Lower Falls, in Somersworth, at the distance only of three miles and a half, where there are numerous saw-mills, and where, in the midst of a busy village, I found a roomy and respectable inn.

The Piscataqua, to the east of which we again enter the territory of Massachusetts, rises in a small lake, to the east of that of Winni-

pisiokee, and reaches the sea by a south-east course, of about forty miles. Through its upper course, above the Lower Falls, it is called Salmon-fall River. From the Lower Falls, to its confluence with the Cocheco, it has the name of Ne-wic-a-wanoc or Ne-wic-a-woc. At Hilton's Point, it forms a confluence with the little river called Back River, and with the Swamscot; or rather with the water of the Great Bay, an inlet of the sea, on the west, which first receives these rivers, and several others, all flowing from the west and north-west.

After the confluence, it bears the name of Piscataqua, and at the distance of only seven miles, it enters the sea. The diversity of the names thus given to this river, is necessarily a source of perplexity to the geographical student, The evil abounds in the United States, and demands of topographers every effort for its remedy. At present, the maps, and what is worse, the books, contain an infinity of names, attached to rivers, concerning which, the smallest notice is omitted, that they belong, not to separate rivers, but only to parts of rivers. The origin of this over-burdened catalogue is easily explained; but the explanation affords no argument for its preservation, or at least for its being preserved in a disordered state. As the

country was explored step by step, so names were learned or used for every visible object by itself. If the Indians were asked what they called any given river or other natural feature, they answered in a manner that (through the difference of genius in the two languages) was commonly unadapted to give the information required; and in particular they gave, when asked the name of a river, not the name of the entire river, but a name for the particular part of the river, whether present, or described to them: hence the name *Piscataqua*, which implies confluence, and is applicable to the confluence at Hilton's Point. It is from this cause that the Indian names of the same river, that is, of the different parts of the same river, are numerous; and from a cause of another kind, the English names are often numerous also. Parts of rivers are named after the different and distant settlements made on them, and without any reference to the entire river as a whole. But, a river is one continued thing, from its source to its mouth, and therefore it ought to have one name; and if, at different points, different names obtain a local currency, it is not necessary that that currency should be inhibited, but it ought to be confined. Topographers should refuse these local names all admission into their maps and books, unless in the form of explanatory notes.

## CHAPTER LXIV.

*Massachusetts—Maine—Saco.*

MAINE, formerly called a province, and now a district, is an integral part of the territory of Massachusetts, and has the title of *district* only because it constitutes one of the districts of the United States. This country is bounded on the west by New Hampshire, on the east by the New Brunswic, on the north by Lower Canada, and on the south by the Atlantic Ocean. On the west, it has the Piscataqua, and on the east, the Schoodic, Passamaquaddy or Sainte-Croix. Within itself, it has three rivers, larger than either; the Amariscoggan, the Kennebec and the Penobscot. The direct line of sea-coast is in length two hundred miles; and the whole of this line is intersected with innumerable bays, inlets, rivers and islands.

Crossing the Piscataqua at the bridges on the Lower Falls, I left the town of Somersworth, in New Hampshire, and entered that of Berwick in Maine, distant from Boston between eighty and ninety miles. This town was settled by the name

the Plantation of Newicawoc, that being the name of this part of the Piscataqua. The town of Kittery, which adjoins it on the east, and is washed by the Piscataqua, as well as by the sea, was called the Plantation of Piscataqua.*

From Berwic, the road carried me through Sanford, Kennebunk† and Biddeford, to Saco, a new town, including the settlement at Saco Falls. A clayey soil, some marked changes in the vegetable kingdom, indicative of coldness of climate, and numerous saw-mills, at all convenient places, characterize the country: its exports are lumber and fish, and the appearances on shore are correspondent. The course of the road is parallel to the coast, but distant from it a few miles.

Saco Falls are distant between five and six; and the mouth of the river is four miles to the east of Cape Porpoise. Vessels come up to the foot of the Falls for their lading; but there is a bar at the mouth of the river, over which those of a hundred tons burden cannot pass, with their full freight. Without the bar, there is a commodious and safe harbour; and it is said that a passage might be cut through a neck of

* History of Maine, p. 245.

† Kennebunk is a village, with saw mills, &c. on Kennebunk River, once called Cape Porpoise River.

land, by means of which the river would be entered without passing the bar. Before it reaches the Falls, the river divides itself into two arms or branches, encompassing an island of thirty acres of land, called Indian Island. The road is carried by bridges across this island; and on each arm of the river there is a cataract or fall, on which are erected mills of several kinds, but particularly saw-mills. The total descent of the water is said to be forty feet. At the bottom is a basin, in which the vessels mentioned are loaded. Logs are floated down the Saco from the country fifty miles above; but several cataracts interrupt their voyage, especially the Salmon Falls, which are ten miles above the falls described.

The Saco, formerly called Sagadahoc, was early frequented for its fishery. The settlement, made on the banks of the river, was called the Plantation of Saco. The land on the banks of the river is good; but at a little distance from them it is indifferent. So early as the year 1636, the inhabitants of the Plantation of Saco (afterward called the town of Biddeford) made an assessment among themselves, for the support of public worship.

The settlers were unmolested by the Indians, among whom they lived, from the time of their first coming to the Saco, till the year 1675; but

in this year an act of wanton barbarity, exercised against an Indian woman and her child, drew upon them an almost total destruction.

Saco Falls was at this time the inland boundary of the settlement, and all to the westward was the Indian country. What was called the town, was on the sea-shore, near Winter Harbour. At the Falls, on the west bank, a settler, of the name of Phillips, had mills, and a fort or fortified house; and, on the east bank, a quarter of a mile below, another, named Benthyon, had a house, but no fortification. The rest of the settlers were from five to six miles distant.

The barbarity, that was committed against the Indian woman and her child, is characteristic only of the lowest of human creatures. The settlers, from seeing the Indian children very expert in swimming, had propagated a doctrine among themselves, that a young Indian could swim before he was a day old. To make an experiment upon the subject, one of this hopeful band took an Indian infant out of its mother's arms, and threw it into the river. The child, though Indian, sunk, and would have been drowned, but that its mother leaped instantly after it, and swam with it ashore.* The

* *History of Maine*, p. 224. "An Indian woman," says the historian, "was *affronted* by a *foolish*

child and the mother accordingly escaped; but the Indians did not suffer the outrage to pass unrevenged.

They were shortly afterwards in arms; and, commencing their devastations on the east side of the river, they burned Benthyon's house. Benthyon, having been alarmed in time, had escaped into Phillips's fort, at the mills. Crossing the river the same day, they burned the mills, outhouses and dwellings; and, for a few hours, besieged the fort. They are said to have *erected a battery on the axle-tree of the large wheels* of the mill, and to have attempted the destruction of the fort, by rolling the loosened wheels against it. From the fort, however, they were obliged to retire, with the loss of fifteen killed; but, in return, they killed and made prisoners of several persons in the settlement, and destroyed every thing belonging to it, the fishermen's huts on the neck of land excepted. They had wrongs to avenge, beside that done to the woman and her child; and they aimed not only at vengeance, but at the extirpation of their

" *curiosity* in one of the white people;" and again, " This happened at an *unlucky* moment;" expressions, the suavity of which the reader will not fail to notice, being of the same cast with some others, from more quarters than one, to which it will presently be proper to awaken his attention.

enemy; but, in the following year, peace was nevertheless re-established.

In 1693, a stone fort was built at Saco Falls, opposite the Lower Fall. In 1774, a block-house was built five miles above the Falls. The Indians of the Saco or Sagadahoc have the names of Osipees and Pigwockets.

The modern village at Saco Falls has the most flourishing appearance; and its new church is built and painted in the gayest style. On the road, in the intervals between the villages, are several dwellings that betray extreme poverty in the inhabitants; and not a few of them have boards hung out, on which are uncouth inscriptions offering *spirituous liquors for sale*. On the twentieth day of October, I reached Portland, a principal sea-port of Maine.—There was a thunder-storm on the nineteenth. On the twentieth, at noon, the mercury stood in the shade at 56°.

Saco, of which the name is pronounced *Sauco*, (*Sâco*,) lies exclusively on the east side of the Saco, and was till within a short period denominated *Pepperelborough*.

## CHAPTER LXVI.

*Massachusetts—Maine—The Kennebec—Taconnet Falls.*

FROM Portland, I took the road for the banks of the Kennebec, passing first through Falmouth, North Yarmouth and Freeport, into Brunswic, on the Amariscoggan. In Brunswic are the Pijipscot Falls, a great cataract by which the navigation of the latter river is closed, almost at its mouth. Extensive saw-mills are erected on it; and a bridge, which is thrown across it, unites Brunswic with Topsham, the opposite town.

Topsham is thirty-two miles in circumference, and of this boundary-line, more than twenty-five, is bordered by water. Both Brunswic and Topsham project on the eastward into a bay, called Merry-meeting Bay, where the Amariscoggan and Kennebec unite. Some adventurers, who settled in Topsham about the year 1700, were destroyed by the Indians; but others, who made a first attempt in 1730,

maintained their ground, though amid some apprehensions till so lately as the Peace of 1763.*

The country, between the Amariscoggan and Bowdoinham, a distance of fourteen miles, can only be said to be half cleared. At Bowdoinham I was very commodiously lodged; and the next morning I reached Hallowell, a town on the Kennebec. The country between is hilly; much of the forest is still left; but, in the cleared spaces, there are excellent farms. To the north-west, high mountains discover themselves at a distance, of which a remarkable one has the denomination of Old Blue. The banks of the Kennebec are high, and composed of stratums of clay and sand, disposed with some variation.

Hallowell is seated at the head of the tide-water of the Kennebec, and below a fall in the bed of the river, of small descent, but sufficient to embarrass the further navigation. At the head of its tide-water, the river forms a basin, exceedingly commodious for shipping; and in this, as in all other respects, Hallowell is particularly favoured, as a seat of commerce for all the upper and surrounding country. Its distance from the sea is forty-six miles.

At about sixty miles above Hallowell, measuring by the course of the stream, is a town

* American Gazetteer.

called Noridgewoc, and sometimes Noridgewalk, where, in the year 1724, and for some years before, a French mission was maintained. This place, as well on account of its ancient history, its modern promise of advancement in population, agriculture and trade, and its situation among the northernmost of the present settlements in Maine, I went up the river to visit.

The town of Hallowell, like all the more ancient river towns in New England, was at first laid out on both the sides of the river; and its extent appears to have been eight miles from north to south, by ten from west to east; including, with the river, a surface of eighty square miles. But, those limits at present include three towns; the lands on the east bank composing the town of Vaughan; and those on the west being divided into Hallowell and Augusta. In this partition, Hallowell still retains her sea-port; Augusta lying somewhat above the basin.

In Augusta is the only bridge hitherto thrown across the Kennebec; which has been built some years, and is now repairing. In its centre is a drawbridge, by means of which vessels may freely pass it. Just below the foot of the bridge, on the east bank, are the remains of Fort Western, consisting in a barrack and four block-houses of wood. Fort Western was

erected in the year 1752. From the fort, I ascended the east bank of the river, to Taconnet Falls, comprehended within the town of Winslow, and distant from Fort Western eighteen miles. Between Fort Western and Winslow is the town of Vassalborough.

A little below Taconnet Falls, the river Sebasticook, or Sebastiquoke joins the Kennebec from the north-east. By a ferry established on this small river, I reached an inn, well built and well furnished, and which stands on the site of Fort Halifax, erected in 1754. The fort consisted in block-houses, and several other buildings, some parts of which still remain. The point of land on which they stand is an important one, commanding the mouth of the Sebastiquoke and the navigation of the Kennebec. Behind the fort, the land continues to rise from the water, and there was a small work upon the eminence. In digging up the foundation of one of the buildings, a corner-stone was laid bare, on which is an inscription, containing the date of the year in which it was laid. From a French map, compiled in the year 1744, it appears that there was even then a fort at the same place, denominated Fort Taconnet. The river Sebastiquoke is there called Kiaibetsi, and made to flow out of a lake, called Kebesen. From Fort Halifax, I crossed to the west bank of the Kennebec.

In 1676, Taconnet Falls was the scene of one of those transactions which from time to time brought blood and devastation on the colonies. An Indian trader, of the name of Hammond, who had a fort or fortified house on Arrowsike Island, near the mouth of the Kennebec, came up the river to this place, where there was then an Indian village; brought with him the usual quantity of rum; and, when the Indians were intoxicated, stole their furs. For the moment, he escaped; and, on a Sunday shortly following, we find him and his neighbours *at their devotions*, within his fort on Arrowsike Island.*

Meanwhile, the Indians, irritated by this and other robberies, prepared to destroy the settlement, and even resolved on joining Philip, the Narragansett chief, in a general warfare upon their common plunderers. While the honest men, therefore, were at their devotions, the warriors of the Taconnet village, and of the upper banks of the river, having previously arrived undiscovered in the vicinity, forced their way into the fort, where, entering the house, they killed the thief,

* "The business of his trading carried him up to Taconnet Falls, where he was *imprudent enough to rob* the Indians of their furs, while they were intoxicated. This offence was retaliated by a sack of his fort." *Sullivan's History of the District of Maine*, p. 171.

and made booty of every thing that they found. This act of private justice performed, they proceeded against the other forts and dwellings in the settlement, burning the houses and mills, and either killing the settlers, or driving them before them; insomuch that the whole country was soon after abandoned. It was not till 1692 that the English regained their superiority, when, under the conduct of a settler of the name of Church, they defeated the Indians whom they met on the lower Kennebec, and having forced their way to Taconnet Falls, destroyed the Indian village there.

The Falls compose a cataract of remarkable beauty. The river is at least half a mile in breadth; and the depth of the fall is twenty feet. The Falls stretch across the whole bed of the river, forming a curtain, but a curtain of infinite variety in its folds. Saw-mills, and some other mills, are established at the Falls; and, on the west bank, a trading village is in an advancing state. Ships also are built here, and, when partly finished, sent down the river for sale.

The river above the Falls is romantically adorned with islands. I passed through Canaan and Fairfield, and reached a settlement in Noridgewoc. In Canaan, the Kennebec receives the Wassarunset, Wesserunset, Wesserunscut or Wesserunskic, a small river from the north-east.

In Noridgewoc, a white-painted house, of large dimensions and the most respectable appearance is the inn; and at the same time the country-shop or *store*, at which nearly all the commerce of the neighbourhood is carried on.

## CHAPTER LXVII.

*Massachusetts— Maine— Falls of Noridgewoc— Noridgewoc or Nanrantswac.*

NANRANTSWAC, the Indian village from which, by corruption, the town of Noridgewoc or Norridgewalk has its name, was seated on an elbow of the river above, at about four miles distance, by land, from the village now established. *Nanrantswac* is not only the name by which the French have uniformly called it, but that also which the Indians that speak of it give it at the present day. The word, as the same Indians interpret it, implies a *village seated on still water*, or more minutely, on a still water between two places at which the current is rapid. Nanrantswac is seated below a succession of cataracts, and where a point of land renders the current more slack than it is below, in its uninterrupted course.

I ascended the Kennebec as high as the Falls of Noridgewoc, three miles to the eastward of Nanrantswac. The total descent of the water exceeds fifty feet; but it is performed by several falls, by which the river is disturbed through nearly a mile of its course, and of which no particular one perhaps exceeds fifteen feet. At this place, the water passes over shistic rocks; but it brings large masses of granite from the upper country. Masses of granite, of the weight of a ton or more, are lodged upon some parts of the rocks, in the dry season, twelve feet above the surface of the water, and only covered in time of floods. One mode, in which rivers transport enormous masses of stone, consists in the facility with which they float them, when embedded in a sufficient bulk of ice. A proportionate bed of ice being formed round a stone, if the ice afterward floats, the stone floats with it.—The lands on the falls are thickly covered with excellent timber, among which is the yellow or red pine, (*pinus pinea*,) called by the French colonists *sapin*, and by the English corruptly *sapling;* and which is the tree from which *tar* is made.

Above the principal falls, two or three sawmills are erected on the river, and there is a village of a dozen houses adjacent. The road to the Falls of Noridgewoc is generally bordered by

farms; and I am informed, that there are straggling settlements along the banks, for 20 miles. Above the Falls, the country of the Kennebec is rocky; but below, it consists either in clay or sand, and the river flows at a great depth beneath the banks. Nanrantswac, or the point properly so called, and all the soil in its neighbourhood, is sandy. On the site of the ancient village is a farm on which I saw maize of a low stature. On the farm are some small remains of the missionary church, called by the protestant colonists the *mass-house;* and some antique articles, both of French and Indian manufacture, are occasionally met with.

The Kennebec, called by the French Kinibequi and Canibequi,* and by the English sometime Kenebecky,† flows out of a lake called Moose-head Lake,‡ a body of water of which the surface is said to be three times greater than that of Lake George,‖ and which lies nearly due north of the mouth of the river, and distant from the sea about 150 miles. From its source, it flows to the south-westward for about twenty miles, at

* Charlevoix.

† Hist. Maine. See Appendix, No. I.

‡ "Moose Pond or Moose Lake." *Hist. Maine.* "Nantsakanti." *Charlevoix's Map.*

‖ Lake George, which lies at the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, is said to be thirty-six miles in length, and from one to seven in width.

which distance it is joined by Dead River,* a stream collected from among morasses and small lakes to the westward. Turning, at this point, to the south-east, it receives, at about thirty miles below, a river that comes in a contrary direction; and, with this accession of strength, it pursues a winding but generally south-westerly course, to Nanrantswac; thence makes a sudden turn to the eastward, as far as the mouth of the Wassarunset, and there resumes a south-westerly direction, keeping it, for the most part, to the sea.—The mouth of the Kennebec was originally known by the name of Sagadahoc. The mouths of other rivers, and particularly of the Saco and Penobscot, were also so called by the Indians; but the Sagadahoc of New England History is the mouth of the Kennebec. The country, anciently so called, and which comprises the lands both on the east and west banks of the river, consisting in innumerable peninsulas, and in several islands, was since a town, called Georgetown. Arrowsike Island, on which was the fort of Hammond, the trader that robbed the Indians at Taconnet Falls, was within this town, or within the ancient Sagadahoc, of which his guilt led to the destruction.

* Called also, after the manner of the colonists, the *west branch* of the Kennebec.

Sagadahoc had once before been cleared of Europeans by the Indians of the Kennebec. It is the quarter in which the earliest attempts at the colonization of New England were made. In 1607, a hundred colonists, provided with civil and military officers, were established on Stage Island, in Sagadahoc; but, in 1608, the settlement was broken up, a part of the surviving colonists returning to England, and a part making a second and more successful effort, in an establishment on Martha's Vineyard. A tradition is said to have been preserved among the Indians of Nanrantswac, that the colonists requested a number of Indians, who had come to the island to sell furs, to draw a small cannon by a rope; and that when, by this device, they had placed the Indians in a line with the cannon's mouth, they discharged it, and thereby succeeded in killing and wounding several.—If there is any truth in the narrative, we must suppose that the project of the colonists was undertaken in consequence of previous misunderstandings; but, be this as it may, the event is represented as having produced the destruction of the colony: "The "resentment of the natives, at this treacherous "murder, obliged the Europeans to re-embark "the next summer."*

* American Gazetteer.

The situation of Maine is on a great peninsula, of which the eastern coast is washed by the ocean, and the western by the river Saint-Lawrence, while its extremities, stretching to the north-eastward, terminate in the gulf of the same name. Between the northern limits of Maine and the banks of the Saint-Lawrence, the distance is various, but every where small. At a few leagues below the Island of Orleans, the frontier of Canada is at a very trifling remove from the south bank of the river.

The whole breadth of the peninsula, between the Atlantic and the Saint-Lawrence, scarcely exceeds two hundred and fifty miles; and what renders the space of still less consideration, is the facility of communication, between the ocean and the river, by means of inland navigation. The French geographers, in 1744, drew the Kennebec as flowing southward from a lake out of which another stream, equally large, flowed to the north; making together one uninterrupted road across the entire peninsula, and landing the voyager, from the Bay *de Kinibequi*, at the feet of the fortress of Quebec; that is, they deduced both the Kennebec and the Chaudière from Lake Nantsakanti or Moosehead Lake, and placed Quebec in the same line with all these objects. But, this representation, though extravagant as a piece of geographical drawing, is suf-

ficiently correct for all political purposes; and the communication, though modified in the detail, is actually existent.—Not only the settlements of Maine, but those of Massachusetts also, are on the eastern edge of this peninsula.

Moosehead Lake, in a political view, is beyond the boundary of the navigation afforded by the Kennebec; but Dead River, which falls into the Kennebec from the westward, carries canoes a hundred miles into the western country, and its headmost stream runs for many miles, in a parallel line, though contrary direction, to the Chaudière, a river that enters the Saint-Lawrence four miles above Quebec. It is true that not only the Kennebec, but Dead River and the Chaudière also, are interrupted by cataracts and shoal water, but these are to be avoided by carrying the canoes, or light vessels employed, over convenient tracts of ground; and the carrying place, between Dead River and the Chaudière, is only five miles wide.*—Other intersections of this peninsula are remarkable; as that on the eastward of the river Saint-John's, which communicates with the Saint-Lawrence by the

* *Hist. Maine*, where the authority of General Dearborn, who accompanied General Arnold, on his expedition in 1775, is cited.

assistance of only 36 miles of land-carriage, and those to the westward of the Kennebec; that of the Connecticut, which, with short carrying-places, affords the route by Lake Mephremagog and the river Saint-Français; and that of Hudson's River, of which the line is continued northward by Lakes George and Champlain. There is in reality a country, more or less elevated, running lengthwise through the peninsula, from the summits of which the river descends in opposite directions; and that elevated country lies to the north-west of the centre of the peninsula, or nearer to the banks of the Saint-Lawrence than to the shores of the ocean.

This proximity of the French and English colonies, and the facility of communication, (circumstances not to be overlooked at the present day, now that both countries have changed masters,) are necessary to be understood, in order to a due interpretation of a great part of the history of New England and more especially of Maine, namely, what belongs to the Indian wars. To the history of Nanrantswac it is indispensable.

The English colonies in New England were always more flourishing than the French ones in Canada. The English colonies were more favourably seated for commerce, the habits of the colonists were more industrious, more enter-

prising and more frugal, and the French colonies were depressed by the most absurd commercial regulations. The English colonists, whether honestly or dishonestly, were continually advancing upon the Indian lands, and thereby threatening even the borders of the Saint-Lawrence with their speedy appearance, as well as daily appropriating to themselves more and more of the western or Saint-Lawrence trade. In a military view, therefore, not less than in a commercial, the government of Canada, or of New France, was imperiously called upon to observe the colonists with a jealous eye.

But, there was another source of inferiority on the side of the French colonies. The French traders were not more honest than the English, and their goods were less cheap. This resulted, in part, from the general state and system of English commerce, but in great part also from the ruinous schemes of the French ministry, designed, as they nevertheless were, for the best ends. Now, to counteract all these obstacles, the French had but one resource, and that was in the propagation of the Christian and Roman Catholic faith: they avow, again and again, that wherever they were obliged to enter into competition with the English, they had neither friend in the field, nor customer at the trading-house, but among those that knelt at their altars.

But, the progress of the English westward demanded every effort to strengthen and extend the French interest eastward. The efforts that were relied upon consisted in spreading religious missions.

To the Indians of the eastern subdivision of the peninsula, between the Connecticut and the Penobscot, the Western Indians, and from them the French, gave the general name of Abenakies or Wabenakies, *east-land men* or Eastern Indians;*—but, the country of the Abenakies or Eastern Indians was the seat of the English settlements, and a French mission received in it was a victory obtained over the English, and so regarded by both parties. For many years, it was even a question undecided, by what southern limits the territory of France on the peninsula was bounded. A province had been early erected, under the style of the Province of Acadia; and this province was sometimes held to reach southerly to the river Kennebec, in which view the mission of Nanrantswac was in Acadia.† The converted Indians

* The word *wabenaki* appears to be compounded of of *wabamo* or *wabeno*, light or the east, and *aski*, earth or land. For the suggestion of this etymology I am indebted to a gentleman well acquainted with the language.

† The ancient and true bounds of the province of Acadia have been very variously defined. According to some,

were commonly divided between their religion, which bound them to the French, and the fur-trade, which inclined them to the English.

At the Peace of Utrecht, concluded in the year 1712, Great Britain obtained from France a cession of the province of Acadia, having in view both to terminate every question of territory in respect of the Kennebec, and to exclude the French from all pretensions in the vicinity of the New England colonies. The French writers insinuate, that at this period, the colonies had every thing to fear from an exasperated Indian population; and that the court of Great Britain was on that account singularly persevering in its demands for the cession of Acadia and the adjacent territories. At the same time, and with the same concern for the colonies, she induced France to renounce all claims to sovereignty over the Five Nations.

Acadia comprehends only a very small proportion of the country east of the Kennebec. According to Charlevoix, the French, in 1698, pretended to the right of excluding the English from both banks of the Kennebec, and from Pemaquid, now Bristol. Soon after, want of strength to maintain their pretensions induced them to retire as far as Saint-George's River, which is midway, between the Kennebec and the Penobscot; and, in 1700, the claims of France, as far south-east as Saint George's River, were formally acknowledged by Great Britain.

Meanwhile, the mission of Nanrantswac, including the whole Kennebec, had been some years established. The Abenakies of this river, sometimes called Caniba, were by the French called Canibas, but by the English, Noridgewocs (*Nanrantswacs.*) The presence of a French mission on the Kennebec was on every account offensive in New England; but the French, though they seemed to have lost the territory, had still the strongest motives for maintaining their influence with the Indians, and therefore for maintaining the mission. The first attempt of the government of Boston, against the mission, consisted in the very allowable one of sending a protestant missionary, to effect, if possible, a change of religion among the Indians.* The date of this mission, which was wholly unsuccessful, is 1713 or 1714.

After the Peace of Utrecht, the English found means to build trading-forts on the Kennebec, even with the consent of the Indians; but new wars succeeded; and the mission of Nanrantswac was regarded at Boston as the cradle of Indian disaffection. In January 1722, a party ascended the river in order to seize the person of Father Râle,† the missionary; but, on a report of their arrival, Father Râle escaped into the woods, and the party returned without success,

* Charl. liv. xx. † Otherwise spelt *Rasle.*

except that it was able to pillage the church and the missionary-house, and carry away what provisions it found in the village. It had chosen a season of the year when the strength of the village was absent, at the chase.

The sack of the village of Nanrantswac spurred the Indians to further exertions in the war, and particularly to the destruction of the plantation now called Berwic. The destruction of Berwic induced a second expedition against Nanrantswac, by the success of which the mission was at length wholly broken up. Messieurs Hammon* and Moulton, two settlers of York, were appointed to lead a hundred men each;† and the plan of operations was no other than that of surprise and massacre. Having reached the village undiscovered, a discharge of musketry, of which the balls pierced the bark coverings of the wigwams, was the first intimation given to the Indians of the presence of an enemy. The next moment, Father Râle, a man in the 67th year of his age, showed himself; and he was no sooner perceived in the street, than a general shout was raised by the assailants, accompanied by a second

* See the History of Maine. The name is spelt *Harman* in the American Annals, Vol. ii. p. 96.

† *American Annals.* The French writers make the number of the English eleven hundred, including English and Indians; but this statement is an improbable one.

discharge of musketry, by which he was wounded and killed.*

The Jesuit history of this affair is filled with many circumstances of a nature to affect the imagination to the advantage of the assailed, and to the contrary of the assailants; but its essential amount is, after all, less unfavourable than the tradition, as I heard it in the neighbourhood. The former represents that the number of warriors in the village did not exceed fifty, and makes the whole number of killed thirty. The tradition says, that a time was chosen, in this as in the former instance, when the warriors were absent; that the attack was made on women and children and old men; and that to secure the prey, the canoes, which lay on the beach, and by means of which the fugitives attempted to escape to the opposite side of the river, were scuttled before the firing was begun. The English account raises the number of killed to eighty.†—It appears to be agreed, that the English experienced no resistance.

* *Lettres Edifiantes et Amusantes, tome* vi, whence the narrative is transcribed into Charlevoix, Hist. Gen. liv. xx.

† "About eighty."—*American Annals.*

The massacre was succeeded by pillage,* and this, according to the French account, by a panic-struck retreat.† The war continued for some time after this transaction, and the English were in general the chief sufferers;‡ but the power of the Indians was now nevertheless on the decline:‖ the successes of the English, on the Kennebec and Penobscot, ultimately effected their ruin.

In these protracted wars, France, as it is said by the French writers, was careful not to interfere, it being at that period her policy to run no risk of a misunderstanding with Great Britain;¶ she was careful, however, to strengthen as much as possible her eastern frontier of Canada, by drawing as many Indians as possible to the south bank of the Saint-Lawrence; and when the Eastern Indians could no longer maintain themselves against the English, she anxiously assembled them at Saint-Français and Becancourt, from which points, on every recurrence of hostilities in Europe, up to the final termination of the French power in this part of North America,

* Lettres Edifiantes.—American Annals.

† Lettres Edifiantes.

‡ Charl. liv. xx.

‖ History of Maine.

¶ See Charlevoix, *ut supra*.

they were sent on incursions in the colonies. The Indians of Saint-Français and Becancourt still occasionally pass and repass between the Saint-Lawrence and the Penobscot and Saint-John's. My guide, at the Falls of Noridgewoc, gave me an account of an Indian family that he had seen only a few days before, carrying their canoe from the smooth water above the falls, to the smooth water below. From Nanrantswac, they descend to Taconnet Falls, and there embark on the Sebastiquoke, on which they pursue the voyage toward the Penobscot. Indians still frequent the inn, which is also a *store*, at the mouth of the Sebastiquoke.

At Saint-Français, I met with several Indians whose conversation ran much upon Nanrantswac, with the topography of which they appeared to be very intimate. One of them gave me a superstitious history of a rock that lies in the river, a little below the point. It has always, he observed, been a matter of general belief, that the water-spirits delineate upon this rock every object that is passing, or about to pass, up or down the river. If, for example, a canoe is shortly to pass, bringing a corpse for interment, that canoe, the corpse and the living persons in the canoe, will be figured upon the rock; and so of all the most ordinary circumstances of a voyage. In every case, the precise number of

voyagers will be seen, men, women and children, all distinguished from each other, and even exact in their features. Nothing, in short, is omitted; but all that will afterward be seen in the real canoe, may here be seen in the shadow.

The Indian, finding my curiosity sufficiently piqued to induce me to ask him for several particulars, sent for some others, who concurred with him in relating, that having themselves entertained doubts, they had resolved, upon a certain occasion, to satisfy themselves with their own eyes; and that the result was a perfect conviction of the truth of the story. They had ventured upon paddling up to the very side of the rock itself, and there, to their consternation, they had beheld their own canoe, their own dog, their own figures and their own faces. I inquired into the size of the objects, and was answered, that the faces of the figures were of about the dimensions of the palm of the hand;—into the manner of representation, and heard that it was by perfect resemblance, as to colours and all other adjuncts;—into the part of the rock figured, and was told that it was near the top, but that the height was varied in different instances, according to the height of the water in the river;—into the inferences drawn by the Indians on seeing

such exhibitions, and found that they consisted only in a confident reliance on them, when they developed any thing of future events;—into the motives attributed to the spirits on this occasion, and understood that the only ones were those of imparting their knowledge.—The rock has smooth sides.

In reality, the superstition here betrayed, is strictly that of the *second-sight* of the Scottish Highlands;* and, as to the delineations performed by the spirits, they are obviously a dream that has its origin in the delineations that the Indians are accustomed to leave upon rocks and trees on their journies, for the information of those that follow them. They do themselves depict, after their manner, their canoes, the numbers of their party, the goods they carry, and the dogs that accompany them; and all other particulars that can identify them in their absence to their friends, and give the fullest view of their condition. The water-spirits, (*mamancgwmaisac*,) as I thought from this and other descriptions, are considered by these Indians as perfectly harmless, gentle, shy, and without any important office. In

* Second-sight appears to have been taught or countenanced by the druids. See Ossian's Poems—Comala.

their regard, we may turn back upon the water the figure of the poet, where he says,

> The earth hath bubbles, as the water hath,
> And these are of them !*

## CHAPTER LXVIII.

*Massachusetts—Maine—Bingham Purchase—Sandy River—Noridgewoc.*

DEAD RIVER flows through a country still in forest. Almost the whole of that country is included in a tract of land, of a million of acres the property of the heirs of the late William Bingham, Esquire, and commonly called the Bingham Purchase. The land was bought of the government of Massachusetts at a very low rate, and is offered to settlers on terms that sound as if advantageous. But, such is the general quality of these lands, though watered by Dead River and the Kennebec, that I was assured, not only that they are now, with small exceptions, unsettled, but that they never can be settled. The surface is said to have no other variety than this, that the high lands are mountainous, with

* Macbeth, Act i.—Scene 2.

naked rocks, and the low lands the worst sort of bog. Along the borders of the rivers, at a distance from one another, are some small portions of meadow, or of those culturable uplands, that in New England, are included with meadow, in the denomination of *interval lands;* but, there is never more than five hundred acres of this description to be met with in one parcel; and what parcels there are, are contained in the few *towns* already sold. The surveyor of the lands is said to have made the most flagrant misrepresentations. The total number of families upon them is very small. Beside the Dead River and the Kennebec, they are watered by two lakes, of which one appears to be laid down in the French map of 1744, already referred to, by the name of *Ouramana;* and between them is the Great Carrying-place, five miles wide, on the route to the Chaudière, called, by the settlers in Maine, the *Shadore.* On this river, the lands nearly abut to the west. To the south, they descend to the Falls of Cariotunk, a cataract above the Falls of Noridgewoc, at the distance of about twenty miles. Another tract, still more extensive, is in the hands of the same proprietors. This includes the heads of the rivers Penobscot and Saint-John's, and stretches northward from Lake Schoodic to the frontier of Lower Canada; but has slender pospects of settling.

Below the Bingham Purchase, and above the Falls of Noridgewoc, are certain grants of the government of Massachusetts, for the endowment of grammar-schools, and for other objects. Below these is Sandy River, the borders of which comprise the most northerly lands of which any flattering account is yet related. The mouth of Sandy River, as already described, is contiguous to Noridgewoc, and the trade of that river belongs in great part to this place. The farms on Sandy River are well spoken of.

Noridgewoc, for by this name, in 1788, was the modern town incorporated, Noridgewoc is situated at something less than a hundred miles from the sea. In 1797, it was said to have three hundred and seventy-six inhabitants. At present, it has a hundred and fifty-seven voters; and the male population, not entitled to vote, is more numerous than that which is. A schoolmaster is employed four months in the year, and a schoolmistress three; and the children are upon the whole well taught. More maize, beef and pork are now produced, in this and the neighbouring towns than are consumed.

But, here, I am to dip the pencil in no cheerful colours. Noridgewoc is not a paradise;—it is not a paradise, at least if vice, ignorance or poverty is incompatible with the definition! More maize, beef and pork are produced than

are consumed; but this is not because the quantities of those articles exceed what the inhabitants are able to consume, but because it exceeds what their poverty permits them. Even those that raise them themselves are compelled in frequent instances to part with them; sometimes to lessen their debt at the *store*, and sometimes to pay taxes. Nothing, as I am assured, is more common, than for families to live for three months in the year without animal food, even that of salt-fish, and with no other resources than milk, potatoes and rum.

The employment of the people is that of *lumbering*.* To be more explicit, it must be remarked, that the natural riches of Maine consists, at the present day, in lumber. Its shores were first frequented for their fisheries; then settled upon for their furs and peltries. The fisheries are now unimportant; the fur-trade can scarcely be said to exist; the native animals, like the native inhabitants, are destroyed,

* *Lumber*, as defined by Johnson, is "any thing of more "bulk than value;" and it is in this sense that boards, staves, &c. are called in commerce *lumber*. The verb *to lumber* signifies, according to the same authority, *to move heavily* and more strictly perhaps it is *to move unwieldily;* but it has also the legitimate as well as technical sense, *to procure*, or even *to manufacture lumber:* a lumberer is one that *lumbers*.

but the silent and solitary forest that they have left remains to be subdued.

Man is naturally indolent; the member of civilized, that is commercial society, renounces, for the most part, all his habits of persevering labour, from the moment that he can renounce them with impunity. Some writers have treated as matter of mystery, what they have seen themselves obliged to acknowledge as matter of fact, that men more easily sink into the savage state than rise into the artificial one; but the surprise of these writers has no other foundation than in the false theory of nature and society by which they discover themselves to be swayed. All that distinguishes commercial society springs out of the habit of daily labour. It is regular and daily labour that alters the face of human affairs; but, regular and daily labour was never submitted to, at the first, but from necessity: it is maintained (as is evident from the history of all the labouring classes of society) only with extreme difficulty, and by the aid of necessity; and it is abandoned as soon as necessity withdraws her stern and tyrannous control. When, however, it is abandoned, society relapses, not into what is specifically the savage state (for the savage state is no state of disorder) but into infinitely worse; into an abject and vicious state, the wreck and ruin of the commercial state; and

a state in the contemplation of which we learn to revere the ennobling and embellishing, though rigorous and ungentle empire of Necessity, and her law of daily labour.

But, if the ocean, if the rivers, if the forests, will supply food or riches, the gifts of nature, and that need only to be gathered, man will gather them, regardless of the effect of the system; and yet, what may seem inexplicable upon superficial theory, it results invariably in practice, that to accept these gifts, is only to catch at a bait, and to fall into the snare on which it is laid. He that lives upon the bounty of nature, lives always in poverty. The savage lives thus, and the close of every succeeding year leaves him no richer than the close of the year before; but, in commercial society, many causes combine to make his condition a condition of wealth, when compared with that of the caitiff that follows his example.

Where the fishery or the chase is present to the poor, the poor cannot be induced to submit themselves to daily labour; and the same thing will happen where any other path of adventure is open. Maine is covered with wood; wood, in all its forms, is marketable; and to the settlers is therefore equivalent to furs or fish; and the settlers have consequently degenerated, not into hunters nor fishermen, but into *lumberers*. The employ-

ment, the practice and the condition, of the *lumberers* of Maine, it is fit that we should understand.

As the hunter and the fisherman neglect the tillage of the earth to pursue their game; as the wild herdsman moves from place to place, content to pasture his cattle on the herb that he has been at no toil to raise; so the lumberer wanders through the forest, making spoil in his turn of the wealth of nature. Unlike the husbandman, whose toil is always for the future; who enjoys to day the fruit of the labour of days past; and who, while he enjoys it, is labouring for days to come, the lumberer toils only for the moment that is passing, and provides for that moment only by preying on the future one: what nature has planted he enjoys, but he plants nothing for himself.

The practical evils of such a scheme of life are serious in the extreme. Time is the true capital which in all occupations, men have to turn to account. To lose time is to lose money; to lose food and raiment; to lose the means of future advancement:—and to lose time is unavoidable with him that is either to fish, or to hunt, or to seek for lumber in the forest. This is the first and radical misfortune of the lumberer.

The second is the loss of time in search of a market. The lumberer goes into the forest, fells a few sticks of timber, or cuts a few bundles of shingles. This done, his distress requires an immediate sale of his commodity; and he descends the river, perhaps a hundred miles, to find a purchaser. A seller, in such circumstances, sells at every disadvantage; he finds the market really full, or at least he is sure of being told that it is so. He must content himself with small reward for his labour; but, the wood contained in his logs or shingles has cost him nothing; and he is but too apt to value his time as nothing; all therefore, that he receives has a false magnitude in his estimation, by which he is tempted to continue his course of life.

But, his habits in the forest, and his voyages for the sale of his lumber, all break up the system of persevering industry, and substitute one of alternate toil and indolence, hardship and debauch; and, in this alternation, indolence and debauch will inevitably be indulged in the greatest possible proportion. Nor is this all; the lumberer is nurtured in dishonesty, not less than in idleness and intemperance; and he is nurtured, not only in habits of idleness, intemperance and dishonesty, but in the habits of an outlaw and desperado. The lumberer is usually too poor

to possess land. If he possesses any, it must soon leave him, to pay for rum, or perhaps to pay for bread, or to pay taxes. But, if he possesses it, and can keep it, still no land that he can possess will be sufficient to provide for his wants by *lumbering*. It is only from large tracts of forest that he can obtain an adequate supply.

But, the lumberer of Maine lives amid such large tracts of forest, sufficient for his supply, and to his free range of which there is but one objection, namely, that the tracts are not his own—are other men's. Here is one of the misfortunes attendant on a life supported by the bounty of nature, under the system of commercial society, and after the laws of property obtain; misfortunes that do not embarrass such a life in the savage state. The lumberer has in practice, still further temptations to contend with. Logs, that have been purchased by mill-owners on the lower parts of a river, are usually put into the stream, with no other attention to property than what consists in cutting a mark on them, and then left to float down to the mills, as accident directs. Now, every lumberer, that meets them on their voyage, may appropriate them to himself, almost in certain safety from the law.

But, along with vice where there is misery, we divide ourselves between anger and compassion; and the lumberer is entitled to our

compassion. If his toil is unsteady, it is also unprofitable; and he suffers at least as much from the scantiness of his wages as from any deficiency in his work. The strength and execution of his arm almost exceed belief; and he fells the forest with at least as much activity as others plough the soil. Meanwhile, it is often amid cold and wet that all his labour is performed. It is often in marshes that he employs his axe whole days together. Sickness is the consequence of this mode of life. To ward off damps and chills he drinks spirituous liquors; the spirituous liquors weaken his system, and place him in more danger than before. Intermittents attack him; his strength leaves him; and his poverty reaches its last point.

But to avoid habits of intemperate drinking is hardly within human fortitude, in the condition of the lumberer. Not only the nature of his employment is an excuse for drinking; not only his irregular habits have a direct tendency to it; but even the course of his business, the very line of his industry, and the market to which he is compelled to carry his commodity, powerfully encourage it.

Cash is very much out of the question, in all country-dealings in the United States. Trade commonly consists in the interchange of commodities, each of which bears a nominal value

in money. It is not money, therefore, but commodities, which, for the most part, the lumberer obtains for his lumber.

Now, the trade of the Kennebec consists, in the first instance, in the export of lumber to the West Indies: lumber is its staple, and the West Indies is its market. But the merchant of the Kennebec finds himself, in the West Indies, in the situation of the lumberer at home. Trade, there, too, is only an interchange of commodities. The West India planter can pay for the lumber of the Kennebec only in hogsheads of molosses, sugar and rum, and bags of coffee. These, therefore, are the immediate returns of the lumber-trade; it is true, that by an enlarged system of commerce, the merchant is ultimately enabled to turn a certain portion of his lumber into the manufactures of Europe and India, and even into the dollars of Peru and Mexico; that is, he re-exports a part of his returns from the West Indies: but, it is not the less true, that his warehouses are loaded with West India produce; that this is not always a merchandise in great demand; and that it is in every view conducive to his interests, even when it is not demanded by his necessities, to put away as large a quantity of this produce as possible. It is his easiest, if not his only means of making purchases; and

the larger the consumption of this produce, the more flourishing will be the lumber-trade.

When, therefore, the lumberer offers his logs or shingles for sale, among the articles that he can most readily obtain for them is rum. Rum is supposed to be indispensable to his calling ; it is even indispensable as forming, with water, the common beverage of the country, malt-liquors not being in use. Whatever may be the sobriety of his habits, rum is forced upon him ; rum he can obtain, when the market offers him nothing else ; rum he carries home ; rum is in his house when his house contains nothing else ; his wife and his children drink rum ; rum becomes a necessary of life ; and becomes its destroyer.

But, the manners and the condition of the lumberers are participated in by classes of settlers not fully entitled to the name ; that is, by the farmers of the country. Even among these, habits of indolence and low dissipation are by much too common. Their common resort is to the *store*, where they either have or make some trifling errand, and where the first thing to be asked for is a half pint of rum. Here, they loiter, and are presently joined by one or more of their own description ; another half pint of rum is called for ; a law-suit or an election, a point of divinity or a methodist-preacher, supplies topics

of conversation and dispute; more rum is drank, and half pint is betted against half pint, for hours together. It often happens, that the parties meet by nine o'clock in the morning, and do not separate till night. Meanwhile, the shop is thronged, and exhibits the delusive appearance of much business.

At home, as we have seen, poverty is the companion of the lumberer. The course of business, between the settler and the merchant, requires an annual payment in autumn. If, says the merchant, the settler cannot pay in autumn, he can never pay at all. The merchant takes any thing and every thing in payment, but some approach to a balance of accounts must be now made, or there is no credit for the winter that is at hand; and without credit the settler cannot live. I have supposed above, that after carrying his grain, beef, pork, maize and every other commodity, to the merchant, the settler has still left, for himself and his children, milk and potatoes; but, there are not wanting cases more extreme than this. Even those, whose circumstances and good character justify the merchant in allowing them a credit beyond the usual extent, commonly depend upon buying again, during the winter, the provisions that they have paid away in the autumn. They go to the mer-

chant for pork and grain, and not to their own cellar and corn-crib.

Taxes, also, fall heavily on these people. Their horses, oxen, cattle and lands are every day taken in districts, and sold for the payment of taxes. Every newspaper is filled with notices of such sales, and every public-house has them posted against the doors and walls. Long lists of lands to be sold, for default of payment of land-taxes, are always to be met with. The poll-taxes are also serious ones. The poll is taxed for the state, for the county, for the town and for the society. In the new settlements, the road-taxes, as has been elsewhere said, are heavy. Road-taxes, and some others, imply a laudable disposition to make present sacrifices for future benefit, and they are in no respect to be censured; but this consideration does not lessen the burden, and the burden is heavy upon that part of the population which is in no thriving situation. I understood, that in Noridgewoc, a man possessed of no ratable property, his person excepted, was annually called upon for payment of different taxes to the amount of at least seven dollars, of which three and a half were collected for roads.

Facts, like some of those that have appeared in this chapter, afford a necessary comment on the representations that are often made, on the

case of living in *new countries;* that is, in countries of which the lands are only recently appropriated, and applied to agriculture.——A writer, describing Maine, expatiates on " the " advantages which arise to the settlers from " the forests being filled with moose and deer, " and the waters being covered with wild-fowl " of different kinds."*—Than this description, nothing can be more fantastic; but, be the facts on this head as they may, I have stated to the reader what is the actual condition, as to means of subsistence, of the settlers in the forests.

## CHAPTER LXIX.

### *Massachusetts—Maine—Noridgewoc, continued.*

THE settlers in Maine, like all the other settlers in New England, indulge an unconquerable expectation of finding money buried in the earth. The money is supposed to have been buried by pirates; but the discovery of its burial-place is hoped for only from dreams. Where dreams have conveyed some general information

* American Universal Geography.

of the place, then mineral-rods are resorted to, for ascertaining the precise spot at which to put the spade and pick-axe into the ground; and then charms and various observances, to defeat the watchfulness of the spirits that have the treasure in charge. The superstition, as may be supposed, sometimes enables sharpers to prey upon those that yield to it.

It is only three years since the entire neighbourhood of Noridgewoc was thrown into confusion by a fraud, of which this was the basis. One Lambert and his sons were the impostors, and half the country were the dupes. Lambert was one of those debauched inhabitants that I have described. He had two or three well-grown sons; and the young men, like their father, were lumberers, and in a very abject condition of life. On a sudden, both the father and his sons discovered some appearance of property; and though they continued to live in the hovel that they had previously occupied, they bought good horses and good clothes, and, renouncing all pretensions to labour, rode the country, spending their time in the different public-houses, where they were not only ready to pay for themselves, but to treat their friends. All this, say some of the neighbours, would have been attributed to the gains of successful house-breaking, but that no house was known to

have been then lately broke open, and therefore another explanation was to be sought for. The parties themselves, only by half words, confessed that they had found—a chest of money.

A hint of this sort, on being permitted to escape, obtained the readiest ear; and the remainder of the story was instantly made and vouched for by the country round. Lambert was pronounced to be one of those fortunate persons, who, born under a certain planetary aspect, are endowed with various and extraordinary powers; and he was soon found to possess enchanted mineral-rods, which had grown in the mystic form, and been cut at the proper age of the moon.

The discovery not only accounted for every actual appearance of wealth, but induced a belief in more; and the old man, or his sons, at length acknowledged, in a whisper, and as a secret, that the funds were inexhaustible. Nothing was now talked of but Lambert and his gold; and every day gave birth to new histories of the chest that had been found, and of its immeasurable contents. At the public houses, and at the *stores*, law, divinity, politics and methodist-preachers were forgotten; and all the conversation, the discussions and the bets, arose out of this one source.

Traffic is the passion of all the peasantry of New England. To buy, to sell, to exchange, or, as they term it, to *swap*, are the pursuits in which they wish to be constantly engaged; and, above all things, to make any bargain by which they are to receive, in any proportion, hard money or cash: to give and receive credit is also the soul of their undertakings. Of these dispositions and habits it was the business of Lambert to take advantage. Every man was ready to drive his yoke of oxen to Lambert's door, or to leave in Lambert's *barn* his horse, saddle and bridle, so that he could but walk home with Lambert's note of hand for the purchase-money in his pocket. Lambert was to have credit, because, for one reason or other, (different reasons being given at different times,) the principal bulk of his wealth was not yet forthcoming.

The delusion lasted for some months, and its effects were of the most extensive and most baleful nature. One of its first evils was to give new food to the credulity of the multitude, and a fresh excitement to the inclination, constantly lurking in its mind, to depend for a living upon digging for money-chests, rather than upon daily and ordinary labour. The belief in the existence of these buried money-chests, and the consequent inclination to search for them, is imbibed in infancy; and there wants nothing but the

slightest occasion to awaken both. The story of Lambert's success led to the recollection of every thing connected with these treasures. They have been dug for in all parts of the United States; and, as the history further goes, they have not unfrequently been found. More, however, are supposed still to remain concealed; and, upon the smallest prospect of discovery, the farm and every other rational pursuit are neglected for its accomplishment. Of the public feelings and reasonings on this subject, I am able to cite a picture, from the pen of an eye-witness of Lambert's affair, and one that has been long and well acquainted with the settlers of the upper Kennebec:—"'But, says the multi-" 'tude, there is more money to be found in the " 'earth; there were more pirates than one.' The " mineral-rods are called for again. All hands " are digging in search of money, to the ne-" glect of tilling their lands, and securing their " crops. Days and nights are spent by many " persons, in digging up old swamps and de-" serts, sixty, seventy and eighty miles from " *navigation*. Doleful sighs and dismal noises " are heard;—the chest moves in the earth, al-" most out of their very hands!—They are dis-" appointed, become insolent and saucy, neglect " economy and industry, and every benefit to " society; and moral habits decay, wherever

" these ideas prevail:—for, 'What a stupid clown
" 'must he be,' say they, 'who will toil all day for
" 'a dollar, or for what he can raise on his farm,
" 'while a chest of money can be dug up in one
" 'night, and he become rich at once.' "

But, beside the habits of indolence and profitless adventure, to which this transaction led, there were serious losses of property and a general derangement of affairs. We have just seen in what relation the settlers stand to the store-keeper or country-merchant. The farmer is commonly in debt to the merchant to an amount exceeding the value of his whole property. The merchant considers the farm, the crops, the oxen and the utensils of his debtor as his own; but reckons upon the industry of the farmer, and on the security of the property; and, so long as he is satisfied with these, he reckons on his outstanding debts as on money put out to use, and from which he is to derive yearly interest. What, therefore, is the situation of the merchant, when he sees the farmer, tempted by the offer of a good price in cash, parting with his farm, his horses, his cattle, and every thing that the sharper will condescend to take? Shall he attempt to secure himself, by laying hold on the property that remains? But the settlers are always prepared to oppose by physical force the

process of law: "The populace," says the writer already quoted, "are always ready to rise "in *mutiny*, if any creditor undertakes to "compel payment.—'My property shall not be "sold, says one—and drives his stock into the "woods." These infatuated settlers had parted with every thing to Lambert and his sons, and not only relied upon the payments to be made them for what they sold, but even neglected their labour, because the same persons promised them loans, and even gifts, without limitation!

Meanwhile, attempts were made to undeceive the people, and lead them to a closer examination of the story. Some were persuaded to ask Lambert why the money was not yet produced; and, having done so, they brought for answer, these, that it was kept back in the fear of its being claimed by the United States, and those, that the gold had been found in ingots, and had been sent to the mint of the United States to be coined into money; but no disagreement in the parts of a story ever undeceived the credulous any where, nor did it here. Other suspicious circumstances presented themselves, but were passed over with the same ease. It happened, in innumerable instances, that the oxen and other things that Lambert purchased on his notes, he sold in the sight of their former owners, at a lower price.

One of the dupes was an unfortunate man, who had been worth a little farming-stock, to the amount of five hundred dollars, and who had transferred the whole to Lambert, expecting, not only to be paid his five hundred dollars, but to be accommodated with a large loan, of which he was much in need. His creditor, who saw with no small dissatisfaction his dealings with Lambert, and who was very little amused with his prospects of future indemnification, urged him, while it was yet time, to demand some other proof, than the mere word of Lambert, that the funds were actually existing. Lambert had sometimes said, that a part of the ingots was in his cellar; and the debtor, made at length uneasy, and depending, for his ruin or prosperity, upon Lambert's veracity and honesty, took his wife with him, and went to satisfy himself of facts. Having represented to Lambert the suspicions that were abroad, the anxiety of his particular situation, and, at the same time, his unshaken confidence in the money-chest; and his wife having added, with less ceremony, that they were come to see the ingots with their own eyes, Lambert undertook to gratify them by the most irrefragable testimony. For this purpose, he took the husband and wife into a dark cellar, where, with rapture, they beheld several well filled sacks. Lambert went still further, and not only bade

them lift the sacks, to try their weight, but even took out of one of them what he called an ingot, and tearing off, at one corner, the paper that covered it, showed them, by the help of a candle, a portion of yellow metal. His visitors desired no more; but returned home, rejoicing in their own security, and advising all their friends to prevail on Lambert to buy not only their stock, but their farms too. It was in vain that the unbelieving objected, that what they had been shown might be no other than a brass candlestick.

The month of September, in the year 1804, had been fixed upon by Lambert, and his sons, for the time of general payment, and the time when they would lend or give to all that would borrow or receive. Before September arrived, the family quitted the country: however, one of the young men occasionally visited it, and, at length, a particular day was fixed on for the day of fruition. The money was to be brought in a waggon, and a dinner for seventy persons was ordered in Noridgewoc, where every one that would was invited to assist.

Before the day arrived, all the Lamberts were missing; but this was a source rather of satisfaction than of uneasiness, because they were supposed to be employed in fetching the money from Providence, where it was said to have now arrived from the mint. On the day itself, their friends

went out in a party to meet them on the road; but, alas! neither waggon, nor money, nor Lamberts were to be seen.

A short period produced some tidings; but the tidings were no other than these, that Lambert and one of his sons had escaped from justice into the British province of New Brunswic, and that one or two of his other sons were in gaol, at Castine, on the Penobscot. The cause of the reverse of fortune was gradually developed.

The purpose of all this scheme of imposture was that of turning into money a quantity of counterfeit bank-notes. The prime movers were inhabitants of New Hampshire, and they reckoned among their number some names in credit with the world. The bank designed to have been defrauded was the Portland Bank. A New Hampshire justice, who, during the progress of the imposture, exhibited himself in Maine, haranguing in public houses upon the reasonableness of the belief in money-chests, and dreams, and mineral-rods, was soon ascertained to be an accomplice. Before the notes were perfectly ready for circulation, the design upon the Portland Bank was discovered, and its execution frustrated, by the government of New Hampshire. The connection of the counterfeiters in New Hampshire with the impostors in Maine was at this time unknown.

New Hampshire, therefore, contained the mint from which the Lamberts' money was to come. The more purchases that Lambert and his sons could make, the greater the amount of counterfeit notes was to be exchanged for real value. All Lambert's debts were to be punctually paid, but paid in counterfeit notes. The discovery of a money-chest was the story intended to account for the wealth of a man like Lambert.

It was upon this foundation that Lambert had confidently promised to produce his money in the month of September, that he had afterward fixed a day, and that himself and his sons actually set out to fetch it; but, in the interim, the notes, and some of the counterfeiters, were seized upon in New Hampshire, and, after this event, the impostors had nothing left but flight. They travelled along the sea-coast of Maine, in their way to New Brunswic; but, at a public-house in the neighbourhood of Castine, they stole a silver watch, and three spoons that had been put into their glasses. An alarm being spread, they were stopped at the ferry on the Penobscot, and lodged in gaol. The law allowing, however, of bail, in some cases where it were wiser to refuse it, bail for criminals being purchasable in the United States, and the penalty of the bail-bond being of small amount, a part of the gang, by giving up their

horses and saddles, regained their liberty, and continued their journey into New Brunswic.

The amount of losses, upon this occasion, in the county of Kennebec, which county comprehends the upper part of the country of the Kennebec, was estimated at from twelve to fifteen thousand dollars. Of the infatuation of the people, and the practicability of raising this sum by the means described, an episode, in the history of Lambert's imposture, furnishes the fullest evidence. In this instance, I suppress all names.

A farmer of the better sort, resident on Sandy River, was one of the warmest enthusiasts, not only in Lambert's cause, but in the belief in money-chests. He had parted with chattels to Lambert, to the amount of two or three hundred dollars, and he was prepared to part with as much more, when two of his neighbours, who were among the few that resisted the tide, conceived the project of chastising his credulity.

They commenced the execution of the project at the place of general rendezvous, the *store*. The farmer being present, but a little distance from the counter, one of the conspirators opened a side conversation with the keeper of the *store*, (to whom he gave a hint of his purpose,) observing carelessly, that Lambert's good fortune was by no means of that incredible or even extraordinary description which some people re-

presented it to be: "Money-chests," he continued, "are buried not only in one or two "places, but in many." The farmer, at the first mention of Lambert's name, had drawn nearer to the counter, and he would have drawn nearer still, but that the conspirator gradually lowered his voice, and gave his conversation an air of privacy and secrecy. He advanced, however as near as he decently could, and while he affected not to listen, drank in every word that was uttered:—"We go on," said the conspirator, "toiling like fools; digging the ground for "the sake of a few potatoes, and neglecting the "treasures that have been left in it by those that "have been before us! For myself, I confess it, "to my mortification, that I have been toiling all "my life, to make a paltry living, and neglect-"ing, all the while, the means that have long "been in my hands to make a sudden and bound-"less fortune. I have been ploughing, or lum-"bering, or trading with the Indians, or hunting "deer or sables,* or setting traps for beaver or "muskrats, when, with the smallest penetration, "I might have been the owner of a money-"chest."—Here the farmer lost all government in himself, and almost jostled the elbow of the foolish beaver-hunter; but the other only affected an extreme unwillingness to be

* In Maine, the *marten* is called a *sable*.

over head, and now scarcely spoke above a whisper: "I have papers," said he, "that "were left me by my grandmother, and, among "others, one in which there is an account of a "money-chest buried at a certain spot. The ac- "count is as plain as the sun at noon day; and "yet I have been stupid enough to turn it over, "many and many is the time, and never to dis- "cover its meaning, till lately, that they have "talked about Lambert's chest."

Enough was now said. The conspirator left the *store*, but he was closely followed by the farmer: "What was that you were talking "about," was the first question?—"Nothing "in particular," was the answer; but the farmer was not to be so silenced: "You were talking "about a money-chest" returned he: "No;"— "Yes; it does not signify denying it; I heard "you!"—"What, did you hear any thing that I "said? I am sorry for it!"

"I'll tell you what," said the farmer, "you "and I have long been neighbours and friends, "and it is not neighbourly to make a secret of "this matter with me. You have papers that "show where a money-chest is hidden, and you "know me well enough to tell me all about it. "I don't want to take any advantage of you, "not I!"

His neighbour long declined the communication; but, at length, with much apparent reluctance, agreed to make it. He then explained to his eager auditor, that the principal paper consisted in an ancient plan of a certain place on the banks of Hudson's River, where the spot, at which a money-chest lay buried, was distinctly marked, together with all the accessories that would enable a man to place his very foot upon it.—The next thing was to see the papers;—but the papers were not yet in existence. The day, on which the conversation took place, was Saturday;—a sight of the papers was promised at a few days' distance;—the farmer was frequently at his neighbour's house, impatient of the delay;—his neighbour affected to be too busy to think of looking for them;—at length, however, they were found;—that is, they were manufactured.

The farmer no sooner saw them, than he was all amazement at the conduct of his neighbour, who had so long neglected to avail himself of information the most intelligible and complete. But, he was now wholly bent upon acquiring possession of the papers himself, and to this end it was not long before he offered his farm in exchange.

The offer was rejected. His neighbour said, that though he had hitherto neglected the chest,

he did not mean to neglect it always, and that he would not part with it for any consideration whatever. The farmer persevered in his attempt to effect a bargain. He went to a common friend, (one that was in the plot to ridicule him,) and earnestly represented the value of his farm, which he estimated at three thousand dollars; a deed of this farm he carried in his pocket, and was willing to give for the papers, with a warranty of the title. The value of the farm he did not pretend to say was equal to that of the money-chest; but, then, he insisted, that it was an advantageous offer for his neighbour, all things considered: "He is a poor man," said he, "and has always been poor; he was never worth "a farm, but has been content to sleep in the "woods, hunt, and sell a few furs. He has no "means of going to Hudson's River, and en- "countering all the expense of digging for the "chest. A farm, that is worth three thousand "dollars, will be as much a fortune to him, as "the chest to me. On the whole, I make him "a very fair offer; I don't want to *jockey* him; "and you, that are his friend, ought to advise "him to deal with me."

The common friend declined the interference: "Our neighbour," said he, "promises himself "great things from his papers; and though your "farm, to him, may be worth as much as the papers

" are, he will be very apt to think that we want " to impose upon him. For my part, therefore, " I shall let him take his own course."

The farmer persisted; and it was at length agreed, that in exchange for his farm, he should be admitted to half the property in the papers. The possessor readily allowed, that he had not funds of his own for going to Hudson's River.

When this bargain was completed, the farmer surrendered his whole mind to the contemplation of his good fortune. Hudson's River was to be visited with very little delay; but, in the interim, it was suggested by his copartner, that it would be well to take Lambert with them, in order to assist with his mineral-rods. The farmer thought the papers too plain to need this assistance, but nevertheless agreed.

His friend next advised, that before Lambert should be engaged, and carried to Hudson's River, at an inevitable expense, some trial of the infallibility of the rods, when in his hands, should be made. The thought appeared to the farmer to spring from a very obstinate scepticism; but he nevertheless agreed even to this. With his friends, therefore, he set out, to solicit from Lambert an exhibition of the rods, in the act of pointing to buried metal.

The mysteries of the mineral-rods are many. The rod, or as, with some propriety, they are called the rods, consist in two divergent branches of witch-hazel. They must be shoots that grow in a pair from the main stem or branch. Thus growing, they diverge on either side, making angles with the main stem in the centre. The main stem is cut away, and they then form a pair of divergent rods, of one substance, and united at the common root. It is the natural property of such an instrument, dependent on its configuration, to move spontaneously, when held in the hand; because it is difficult for the hand to grasp with equal force the two limbs of which it is composed, and because that which is the least confined of the two will tend, by its own weight, to escape from the hand, and in so tending will act as a lever upon the opposite limb, and consequently impart motion. That the rods may be susceptible of the attraction of metals, they must be cut in a certain quarter of the moon, and must be held by a person of an approved horoscope.

The farmer and his friend visited Lambert. The farmer carried twenty dollars in specie in his pocket; and the test, proposed to Lambert, was this, that money being buried, his rods should point to it, before the faces of his guests, and subject to their scrutiny.

A single dollar was judged to be sufficient to try the rods; for, such is the delicacy of their tact, that the weakest power is sufficient to determine them. The dollar was buried at the foot of a tree; Lambert produced his rods; their points wandered for a few moments; then betrayed a decided attraction to the dollar; quivered a little, but soon made a fixed point.—Matters were now arranged for Lambert's journey; the farmer returned his dollar into his pocket, and then set out with his friend, on his way home, with a heart more delighted than before.

His friend, however, now thought, that the jest had been carried far enough; and, on the journey, completely undeceived him. The farmer extolled the virtues of the mineral-rods; but his friend led to think deeper upon the question.

The credulous spectator, whenever it is undertaken to examine the mystery of the rods, confines his whole attention to the hand of the operator. If he can discover nothing there, to justify a suspicion that the rods are pointed by aid of artifice, he is satisfied. In burying money, to be discovered by the rods, he makes no secret of the place at which it is buried; but only looks to the rods, to see whether they will point to it, and to the hand of the operator, to see that there is no fraud. All, therefore, that

distinguishes an operator from another man, is his skill or slight of moving the rods at pleasure, and moving them imperceptibly. In vulgar hands, they are awkward and unmanageable. In the hands of an adept, they are moved in an artist-like manner; and it is then, that in vulgar technology, they are said to *work* well.

The farmer was first asked this question by his friend, by way of reply to his praises of the rods: "When you buried the dollar at the "foot of the tree, had you not nineteen dollars "left in your pocket?"—"Yes."—"Do you re- "collect where you stood, while the rods were "*working?* Do you recollect that you stood a "little on one side of the tree, but on a line ad- "vanced a few feet before it, and that therefore "the rods passed you, to reach the tree?"— "Yes."—"How, then, do you account for it, "that the rods were attracted by the single dol- "lar at the foot of the tree, rather than by the "nineteen dollars in your pocket? that is, how do "you account for it, that the rods did not point "to your pocket, rather than to the foot of the "tree?"

This discourse shot a new light into the mind of the farmer; and now his friend discovered to him the whole extent of his delirium: "Neigh- "bour," said he, "myself and **** have al-

" most reason to be ashamed of the length to " which we have carried this folly; and you " ought to be ashamed ever to show your face in " the world any more! The whole is a contri- " vance to laugh at you: there is no money- " chest on Hudson's River: my grandmo- " ther left me no papers; and those papers, for " which you have so much wished to exchange " the deed of your farm, were drawn by my- " self and ****, after I promised that you " should see them."—

My informant added, that the farmer, who put a few questions at the beginning of this fearful explanation, was presently absorbed in stupid silence; that he discovered, in several instances, during the remainder of his journey, a total absence of mind; and that he was scarcely himself for some days after.

In Noridgewoc, there is a large church or meeting-house, of which the exterior is finished and painted, but the interior is still to be completed. There is no settled clergyman, nor do either the funds of the town, or the minds of the people, admit of any. A hundred dollars are annually raised for the support of public worship; but it is agreed that each inhabitant shall pay his quota, not into a common stock, but to such preacher as he thinks proper. The meeting-house, though unfinished, is used

whenever a preacher comes to the town, and is alternately the theatre of the doctrines of congregationalists, anabaptists and methodists, with the disputes of the several adherents of all which the town is incessantly torn. The most active in making proselytes are the methodists. The congregationalists are of a sect called Hopkinsians. The points of controversy are the old ones of faith and works, free will and grace. Noridgewoc is not much disquieted in regard to politics, but very much so in regard to religion. The same misfortune prevails in other parts of Maine. On the Penobscot, as I have been assured by an inhabitant, the public peace is continually interrupted by it. Neighbours, that differ in their notions of grace, free will or faith and works, throw dead dogs and cats into one another's yards or gardens; and—but I need add no more!

Noridgewoc is regarded as the metropolis of methodism, in this quarter of the country. This sect, which, in the United States, has established itself as a visible church, boasts of having two thousand settled preachers, six hundred travelling preachers, and one hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred and ninety enrolled followers. Noridgewoc is only a travelling circuit, there being here, as has been represented above, no settled preacher of any deno-

mination whatever. Indeed, in the whole of New England, methodism rarely obtains a permanent footing. It seizes upon neighbourhoods for a time, but presently afterward the blindest of its dupes discover its extravagance, and shake it off. This has happened in Noridgewoc, where it is at present on the decline. Elsewhere, in innumerable instances, I have found it also on the decline, and only remembered as having bewildered the people five or six years ago.

The establishment just mentioned has a single head, but it spreads its ramifications throughout all the country. It has a common treasury, and is enabled to support, by profitable missions in one quarter, unprofitable ones in others. Its profits are made in the southern countries, and it is understood to lose by the whole of the countries east of Hudson's River. Five contributions are raised annually at Noridgewoc; but they amount, in the whole, but to a trifle.

It is probably the common schooling, to the east of Hudson's River, that is the occasion of this local difference in the prosperity of methodism. The people of this part of the United States are more easily led astray by false reasonings, than by any practising on the passions. They are more fond of argument than of declamation; and, when they cling to absurdity, it is to absurdity in the form of a syllogism, rather than in

that of excited feelings. They often listen with satisfaction to a sermon filled with sophistry, and in which only low thoughts are conveyed in low words; but, a moment after, they express the strongest contempt for the effusions of methodism. To sum up all, methodism obtains its honours, in New England, among none but the most absolutely illiterate, and even those honours are short-lived. The anabaptists, who, at the present day, are more given to argument than to raving, thrive better.

In its travelling circuits, the methodist establishment changes its preachers yearly; and this is thought to be favourable to it in more respects than one. A new preacher awakens a new interest; but this is not all; for, it frequently happens, that a preacher, who is called a *divine man* at the beginning of the year, has either so unsound a moral character, or is so persecuted by calumny, that he loses many friends and followers before the end of it.

A camp-meeting has been talked of at Noridgewoc; but the circumstances of the people are unfavourable to its success. A camp or field-meeting implies loss of time and contributions; but the people are too poor to have any time to lose, or any money to contribute.

## CHAPTER LXX.

*Massachusetts—Maine—Augusta.*

WHAT is now the county of Kennebec, was formerly included in the county of Lincoln, that county having extended northward, from the ocean to the frontier of Lower Canada. Of this late county of Lincoln, the southern portion is still known by the same name, while the northern comprehends the county of Kennebec. In the year 1800, this county contained twenty-four thousand three hundred and ninety-four souls. Its county-town is called Augusta.

The county of Kennebec includes the two fertile regions of Sandy River and the Sebastiquoke. On Sandy River, the town of Farmington is particularly praised. The Sebastiquoke, which is to the south of Sandy River, and which comes from the eastward, has its sources near those of the Pascatiquass,* a river that falls

* Piscataqua, i. e. Pscatiquoke or Pscatigueag. See Chap. xxv.

into the Penobscot; and all the countries of these two rivers are described as composed of valuable farming-lands. The Pascatiquass, which has its stream far to the north of the settled county of the Kennebec, but south of Moosehead Lake, is not yet settled; but the Sebastiquoke has made considerable advances. There is a small village at Fort Halifax, at its mouth, opposite the village at Taconnet Falls. The county of Kennebec, from Augusta to the Falls of Noridgewoc, and perhaps to the Falls of Cariotunk or Caratunk, is well adapted to agriculture. The Pascatiquass and Penobscot are both within the large county of Hancock.

The lands in Maine will always be employed most profitably when turned to grazing and dairy farms. In those parts of the country of which the soil is to be praised, the pasture afforded upon it is excellent. In Noridgewoc, on the farm of my host, five hundred weight of cheese was made last year, in eleven weeks, from the milk of four cows, of which two were put in August to fat; and, during the present season, four hundred and fifty weight of cheese and one hundred and twenty of butter; exclusive, in both cases, of the milk used in the family. The vine of a species of pompion, called by the colonists *winter squash*, (*cucurbita melopepo*,) yielded last year a hundred and fifty-five pounds

of fruit; in which one squash was of the weight of fifteen pounds, two of twenty, and one of thirty. The climate is not sufficiently mild for the peach; but the apple thrives in a remarkable manner, and promise to render Maine a cider country.

At Taconnet Falls, when I passed them, the lumber-trade was depressed by the prospect of a war with Great Britain. In the event of such a war, the people, deprived of the lumber-trade, would in part devote themselves to privateering, but in part to a better trade than either, that of farming. Great Britain has but few friends in Maine, her friends, in New England, being for the most part, as already observed, among the wealthier and better-educated classes of society; and such, as the preceding chapters may have led to a suspicion, are greatly in the minority here. At Taconnet Falls, they talked of building a frigate on the existing occasion, and presenting it to the United States; but it was observed, by persons of another description than themselves, that they could not put the timbers together, and much less provide canvas and cordage, except on the strength of credit at Boston; and that Boston was in no temper to give them credit for this purpose.

The town of Winslow formerly embraced the lands on both sides of the Kennebec, and therefore both sides of Taconnet Falls. At present,

that portion which lay on the west side of the river forms a separate town, called Waterville, and this last is the name of the village at the Falls. The extent, of what may be called *saw-works*, is estimated by the number of saws; and there are five saws at Waterville. There are twelve merchants or store-keepers in this village, a proof of the population of the surrounding country; but there is no settled clergyman. All the advances in prosperity are dated with the last fifteen years. Waterville, Winslow and all the parts adjacent, were formerly called *Fort Halifax*, and are still commonly known by that name. The first vessel built on the Kennebec, above Augusta, was built within Winslow, as it is now limited.

In Winslow, the east, as, in Waterville, the west bank of the Falls, is occupied by saw-mills, and below the falls are the valuable lands at the mouth of the Sebastiquoke. A bridge has been built on this river, above the fort; but the floods have left only the ruins. The Sebastiquoke is navigable for five miles above its mouth, for flat-built vessels of fifteen tons burden. The stream is bordered by large tracts of meadow and *interval lands*, on which the settlers are numerous. In favourable instances, forty bushels of wheat are obtained per acre; and forty bushels of maize is said to be a frequent crop, on

lands but little dressed. The virgin soil affords large crops of rye; and oats flourish in all cases, whether well treated or not. The river, however, still abounds in lumber; and many of the settlers fall into the temptation of depending upon this article for their subsistence. Here, as well as at Noridgewoc, the lumberers are described as miserable. Their industry, though irregular, is acknowledged; but they are in debt with the shopkeepers, and dependent upon them. It follows, that in all bargains, they are compelled to take large quantities of rum; for the traders serve the white people now, as they served the Indians formerly; rum, or other ardent spirits, is cheap stock, and the trade in them was and is always forced.

Winslow has ninety-two voters, and supports two or three poor persons. The inhabitants are almost exclusively of the congregational religion, and they maintain the only settled clergyman on the Kennebec, northward of Augusta. The town-taxes in Winslow are high. The inn at which I lodged is much frequented in the spring of the year. As I saw it, it was as quiet as a private house; and this remark I may apply generally to the inns in all parts of the country. Their season of business is that in which the snow is on the ground.

Six miles below the Sebastiquoke, is the village in Vassalborough, at which there is an appearance of growing trade. Good farms lie along the river banks, which here, as elsewhere, are high. The immediate banks are either of clay or sand; but at a short distance from their brink, the soil is good. As I passed along, I saw the inhabitants very generally leaving their houses, on some journey; and soon after reached a school-house, in which I found them assembled, to hear a methodist preacher. The day was Saturday; but the preacher is always travelling from place to place, and the people assemble on any day appointed for their neighbourhood. At twelve miles below the village in Vassalborough, is Fort Western, which the road approaches, on this side, through some agreeable woodland scenery. Between Fort Halifax and Fort Western, the road occasionally loses sight of the river, and ascends high and woody hills. On my journey, I saw *three* of the black ducks that cover the waters in Maine. At proper hours, and proper seasons, I might certainly have seen more; but I did not hear that any person's condition in life was materially improved by their numbers!

The stream is in a slight degree affected by the tide, as far as three miles above the bridge at Augusta. Augusta contains a county court-

house and gaol, a church, a good inn and several warehouses of brick. In this town there is also a printing office, at which is printed the county-newspaper.* The situation of Augusta, in respect of the navigation of the river, has been already mentioned; but is not such as to prevent the enjoyment of a certain share of shipping and commerce. There is a commercial rivalry subsisting between Augusta and Hallowell, the effects of which will probably be of advantage to both.

In the gaol at Augusta, is confined a religious maniac, who after embracing methodism, fanatically set fire to a church in Hallowell, and fanatically committed murder. Both of these acts were done, as he subsequently declared, in consequence of a command received in a dream. The church was a building in Hallowell, erected for use of members of the church of England, by the late Sylvester Gardiner, Esquire. The maniac dreamed that he was commanded to burn it, and at the same time to kill the officiating clergyman, whose name was *Warren*. The church he burned in part; and, not being able to find the clergyman, he determined on killing a poor woman, far advanced in years, but of the same name; and this murder he accomplished.

* The Kennebec Gazette.

His lunacy was pronounced after his conviction of the murder, by the verdict of a jury, and he has since remained in the gaol. In the gaol, he is constantly preaching, or at prayer, but has also more than once betrayed a disposition to destroy his fellow-creatures. Visitors indulge in the very poor amusement of paying him to say prayers, for which he demands a cent a-piece.

Another example of fanaticism has lately occurred in Augusta, of which the circumstances are in an extraordinary degree shocking. On a night, in the month of July, 1806, James Purrinton, a farmer in decent circumstances, murdered his wife, six children and himself. Dejection of mind, more constitutional than produced by any thing in his worldly condition, and united with vain speculativeopinions, led to this frightful act. His first intention was to kill himself; but, this being discovered, and his wife and family betraying much distress on the occasion, he next persuaded himself, that to kill them was to save them from the misfortunes which he thought impending over them in this world, and place them at once in the bliss of a better. When the neighbours were alarmed, as they were by Purrinton's eldest son, (the only member of the family that escaped,) they found the body of his wife, in bed, with the head almost dissevered; the body of one of his daugh-

ters of ten years old, murdered at the bed-side; in another bed, his eldest daughter, nearly insensible through loss of blood, and reclining her head on the body of a mangled infant: on the hearth, in another chamber, lay the body of his second son, wounded in many places, in his attempt to escape; and, in an outer room, in bed, were the bodies of his two youngest sons, each with the throat cut and, on the floor, the body of Purrinton himself. His eldest son related, that being awakened by the cries of his mother, he had himself shrieked, and sprung toward the door of his room. The moon shone bright, and at the door he met his father, who attempted to cut him down with an axe. He received only a slight wound from the first stroke, and one or two others missed him entirely. At this moment, his second brother, who slept in the same bed, attempted to run out of the room; and his father striking at his second brother, he made his escape. The contest was of course momentary, and not a word was uttered.—The eldest daughter gave an account of being disturbed by the blows given to her infant sister. She afterward received several gashes in her head, but without knowing from whom; and she appears never to have been perfectly awakened. She survived only a few days.

I have entered into these details, only because they alone are capable of marking the transaction with its appropriate horror; and because they exhibit the remorseless temper of the speculative murderer. Purrinton was unquestionably free from all malice toward his victims, and believed himself to be evincing the love he bore them. He had often changed his religious opinions, but is said, by his neighbours, to have been in the latter part of his life a predestinarian. When he commenced what may well be termed the massacre, he left his Bible open, at the ninth chapter of the Prophecy of Ezekiel.

Murders, even of this class, committed under a persuasion of rectitude, are in former instances on record, and more than one example has already occurred in the United States. The perpetrators always persuade themselves that they act under the certain guidance of some special illumination, either of reason or divinity; but, how well, on the contrary, might not they adopt the hesitancy of Hamlet, in the play:

> ———The spirit, that I have seen,
> May be a devil; and the devil hath the power
> To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and, perhaps,
> Out of my weakness, and my melancholy,
> (As he is very potent with such spirits,)
> Abuses me, to damn me! I'll have grounds
> More relative than this.

## CHAPTER LXXI.

*Massachusetts—Maine—Hallowell—Gardiner.*

AS the vicinity of Taconnet Falls was formerly known only by the name of Fort Halifax, so that of Hallowell was called Fort Western. At the same time, the site of the town of Hallowell was called the *Hook*. The Hook which lies three miles below the present village of Hallowell, is now called Hallowell Hook. Fort Western lies in about forty-four degrees of north latitude.

Hallowell was till lately the county-town of the county of Lincoln; but, in the partitions that have been made, both of the town and of the county, that part of the ancient Hallowell which composes the town of Augusta is become the county-town of the county of Kennebec, and Wiscasset, on the sea coast, the county-town of Lincoln. Hallowell has a bank and a marine insurance-office, and is fast enriching itself by the lumber-trade: it has also a grammar-school. It lies on the side of an elevated country, which

declines uniformly to the water, and has one close built street on the river, and one, in which there are already several houses, running parallel to the former, on the hill behind. In the upper street are the church and the bank-office. Several brick houses are building in the street below. In winter, when the inhabitants can travel on the snow, the lower street is thronged with traffickers and their *sleighs*.*

Hallowell is the natural emporium of a very extensive tract of country. In a former chapter, I allowed myself to express some doubts as to the prospects of Hartford on the Connecticut, as to the commerce of the upper part of that river. In Hallowell, I found it asserted, that that commerce belongs, from the configuration of the country, to this latter place. Hallowell even hopes to dispute with Quebec and Montreal, in the commerce of the new settlements in Lower Canada, on the heads of the Connecticut, and to the northward of New Hampshire and Vermont. Portland, which Hallowell hopes wholly to rival, already enjoys some portion of the Canadian commerce; but, this is owing, as is probable, only to the want of roads (a want pardonable otherwise) between the new settlements in the province, and the banks of the Saint-Lawrence.

* A local name for a *sledge*, learned of the Dutch colonists.

A road is proposed to be opened between Hallowell and the settlements in Lower Canada, through the town of Andover, in New Hampshire. The distance is said to be only one hundred miles. Between Hallowell and the upper Cohos, on the Connecticut, the country has been diligently surveyed, and a good road, as it is said, may be made at no more than the ordinary expense, and of the length of no more than ninety miles. The course of the Connecticut is parallel to that of the Kennebec, as it is also to that of Hudson's River.

But, Hallowell has still better prospects, in the immediate contiguity of a fine grazing country. That grazing is the true interest of Maine, I have already observed, and it may be added, that it will be its ultimate and permanent pursuit. Its lumber, like its fish and its furs, will one day pass away; but its capacity of breeding large numbers of sheep, horses and neat cattle will not diminish, but increase; and, that the capacity of maintaining stock is the basis of the prosperity of a farm, is an axiom in rural science. Agriculture, in the mean time, is at present a new thing in Maine. Up to the year 1775, all provisions, fish excepted, were imported.—The finest portion of the soil is said to be between the Kennebec and the Penobscot; but the lands are good for thirty miles on each bank

of the Kennebec. The sea coast, along the whole of Maine, for fifteen or twenty miles inland, is rocky and sterile. Great advantage is derived in Maine by the use of gypsum, which is imported by a short navigation from Nova Scotia. To the flower-mills, there is usually the appendage of an apparatus for breaking and grinding gypsum.

Contiguous to the upper street, is the elegant residence of Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, an English gentleman, and late a member of the House of Commons. The situation of the house is remarkably well chosen, commanding a fine view of the river and its banks, as they open to the south-east; and, in the whole residence, there is happily united, the simplicity of these trans-atlantic countries, with the style of European gentility. On the grounds is a feature of natural landscape, of inestimable value to the liberal lover of nature. At the extremity of the garden, a gate opens on the edge of a steep declivity, dark with wood, and by which a rocky path descends to the bottom of a deep and narrow glen. Here, a stream, of no larger volume than admits of a man's calling it *his own*, passes along a stony, shallow and interrupted channel, forming, in its diversified progress, several little cascades. In heavy rains, or after the melting of the snow, this rivulet becomes a headstrong and mountain

torrent, the whole breadth of the glen is overflowed, and trees, torn up by their roots, are floated down, and left in disorder on the rocks. With the strictest judgment, the path which has been opened, and which is of nearly half a mile in length, is made to terminate at the point above which the stream is uninterrupted, and where, free from obstacles, it flows smoothly and in silence.—It is to such a point that seek our minds to arrive, in all their voyages, and upon every stream! It is to reach this calm that we press forward, against all obstacles, and amid all disquietude! This is the haven of the lover, of the saint and of the philosopher! Here terminates the vista and the chase!

Adjacent to the residence of Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, is the farm of Mr. Charles Vaughan, on which is a quantity of live stock, of a large breed and in the most thriving condition. Great assistance, in the fatting of cattle, is derived, in the northern parts of the United States, from the pompion, a rich saccharine food, which is raised in great abundance in the fields planted with maize, where the vines run at freedom among the plants, in the wide alleys that intervene.

From some high land, on the premises of Mr. Charles Vaughan, looking to the north-west, I had my first view, at the distance, in a direct line, of fifty miles, of the White Mountains

of New Hampshire, to which I was shortly to bend my way. They presented, in this prospect, a ridge, of which the outline was diversified with some pointed eminences. The summit exhibited an unbroken field of snow, stretched, for some length, along a horizon of the purest azure. Lower down, the brilliant whiteness of the snow was interrupted by discoloured regions, from which it was apparent that the snow was there either buried in woods, or had not yet fallen. The White Mountains, as seen from the Kennebec, preserve their white appearance the whole year round; but the whiteness in summer, and the whiteness in winter, are of two very distinguishable tints. The eye ascertains without difficulty whether the snow has or has not fallen. The summit had been now covered for two months.

Separated from the Kennebec only by Hallowell, lies the town of Winthrop, in which is a large number of thriving farms. Much of the land is on a very high level, and from various situations the prospect is bold and rich. A succession of hills, with steep sides and broad and rounded tops, form the features of the country. The soil is a strong loam, inclining to clay.

In Winthrop is part of a lake, six miles in length, called till lately Lake Cobbesecontc, but now, Winthrop Pond. From the lake, a small stream runs south-eastward into the Kennebec,

"and is known," says the historian of Maine, "by the name of Cobbeseconte, as the English "pronounce it; but by the Indians called Cob-"bisseconteag, which, in their language, is *the "land where sturgeon are taken.*"*

A very trifling number of the Indians, of this river, are still in existence, and belong to the village of Saint-Français, where they bear the name of Cabbassaguntiac, that is, people of Cabbassaguntiquoke. *Cabbassa* signifies a *sturgeon.* The pronunciation *cabbassa*, more elegant, as I think, than *cobbissé*, is constant among the Indians whom I saw; and I may take this opportunity of remarking, that the form of the Indian words is commonly more elegant in their own mouths, than as they are rendered by the English colonists. I exclude, on this occasion, all that is deeply guttural in their speech.

But, the Cabbasagunties were not only inhabitants of Cabbassaguntiquoke, but *cabbassas* or sturgeons themselves. They relate, that in days of yore, a certain man, their progenitor, standing on the banks of the river, stripped himself, and having made formal declaration that he was a sturgeon, leapt into it. He never returned out of the water in human shape; but a sturgeon, into which he was supposed to have changed

* History of the District of Maine

himself, or to be changed, was seen playing in the stream immediately after his disappearance; and, upon this evidence, in addition to his own declaration, all the nation professed themselves ever after to be sturgeons.*

Another fable of the Cabbassagunties respects the outlet in the lake by which the stream below escapes, and at which they represent the rock as having been cut by the axe of a mighty *manito*, standing with a foot on either bank of the outlet. But, the outlets of lakes, in North America, have always a tradition of this kind belonging to their history.

On the river Cobbisseconti or Cobbeseconté, near its entrance into the Kennebec, is a cataract of some magnitude, at the present moment enveloped in forest. On the banks above, are the remains of the church, set on fire by the maniac mentioned as confined in the gaol at Augusta.

The mouth of the Cobbeseconté is in Gardiner, at five miles below Hallowell Hook, where there is a small village, with saw-mills, flower and fulling-mills, and dying-works, the property of Mr. Hallowell Gardiner, son of Mr. Robert

* The sturgeon is common in the Kennebec.—It is erroneously said, in the Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur les Etats Unis, (Partie i. chap. 2.) that the sturgeon is never found to the northward of New Jersey.

Hallowell, of Boston; and, on the opposite side of the river, is Mr. Gardiner's house. This family, along with the families of Mr. Benjamin and Mr. Charles Vaughan, and Mr. Merrill, has carried to the Kennebec the useful and politer arts. Mrs. Hallowell Gardiner, for her accomplishments and manners, is one of the few, whom, having been seen, are not to be forgotten!

I had no sooner entered Maine, than every stranger, acquainted with my purpose of going further into the country, expressed an anxiety that I should see Mr. Vaughan. This language I heard every where below Hallowell, and the same above. Mr. Vaughan, who, in a particular manner, has cultivated the science of medicine, adds his ready advice to the sick, to the other forms in which he renders himself a benefactor of the people. His manner of affording advice is also worthy of remark. No undertaking would be more dangerous, either to his own peace, or that of his neighbours, did he interfere with the interests or reputation of the medical men of the country; but the risk is wholly avoided by Mr. Vaughan, who, after hearing the case of his applicants, inquires for the name of the practitioner they employ, or who lives in their neighbourhood, and then ad-

dresses to him only his opinion, in writing, and under seal. Mr. Vaughan is hence regarded with the same veneration by medical men as by their patients; and the former he admits, not only to the advantage of his conversation, but to the use of a large and modern medical library. He is resorted to from distances of forty miles and more; and, in a word, I found him, what the poet has made his clergyman,

—— to all the country dear.

## CHAPTER LXXII.

### *Massachusetts—Maine—Wiscasset—Bath.*

FIVE miles below the mouth of the Cabbassaguntiquoke,* is a ferry, by which I crossed the river to Pittstown, on my way to

* According to Dr. Morse, this river had formerly the name of *Copsecook*, which is evidently a contraction of *Cobbesecontiquoke*.—Amid the variety, I have ventured to introduce into the text that which appears to be the true name.—But, the name *Copsecook* throws light upon the name of a fort, which, in Charlevoix's map, is placed on the north side of the mouth of a river, and called Fort *Cook*. This must be intended for Fort *Copsecook*

Wiscasset, a distance of about twenty-five miles. At a short distance from the river, I passed the house of *Doctor Jewell*, whose name was conspicuous on a sign-board of azure blue, swinging in the wind. But, what was the sign? a golden pestle and mortar? No; but, a punch-bowl and ladle! The doctor keeps a public-house, or, as the term is, a *tavern*. It is pleasant to see a physician in his bar, mixing *toddy* instead of juleps, and giving a cordial, to those that ask his assistance, without a vile label—*Take two table spoonfuls, &c.*—It may be remarked, that though inns and public-houses are kept by the wealthiest traders and farmers in these countries, and by physicians, they are never kept by attorneys-at-law. In this place, too, it may be further remarked, that *physician* is the title of all medical practitioners in the United States; and that all the physicians, being regularly bred, have arrived at the academy's dignity of a doctor's degree. There does not appear to be any vocation known by the name of *apothecary;* but a druggist's shop is sometimes called an *apothecary's store*.

To the south of Pittstown, on the east bank of the river, is Pownalborough, the county-town of the county of Lincoln, at its erection in

1760. On the road side is an old wooden building, in part occupied by a poor family, which was once the court-house. Among a stack of farm-buildings is also a block-house, and some other remains of a fort, called Frankfort, erected by the proprietors of the Plymouth Patent, in 1752. Pownalborough was so named in compliment to Governor Pownal, at its incorporation as a town, in 1760. The subsequent tranquillity of the upper banks of the Kennebec has robbed Pownalborough of its importance, both as a frontier-town and as a place of trade.

Pownalborough extends across a peninsula, on the east side of which is an arm of the sea, called, from a little river that falls into it, Sheepscot River. Not far from the mouth of Sheepscot River, there is a cataract, at which there are mills and a thriving village, called Newcastle. *Sheepscot* is apparently a corruption of the same Indian word as that from which is obtained *Pejipscot*, and which may be also written *Pejipsquoke*. At the southern extremity, of what was lately Pownalborough, is Wiscasset Point, the seat of the new town of Wiscasset.

A great part of the road to Wiscasset is over very rocky land, recently laid open by burning the trees. Lower down, the forest is still entire, and

here the timber is of a large size. Near Wiscasset, the country is cleared, and composed of high hills. Few of the modern places of trade, in New England, make a more flourishing appearance than this. Wood is the ordinary building-material; but many of the dwelling-houses, of the merchants and lawyers, are of ample dimensions, and the most imposing forms. Wiscasset has a bank and a marine insurance-office.

From Wiscasset to Bath, another flourishing sea-port, but on the west bank of the Kennebec, is a journey of only thirteen miles. The road lies along a neck of land, and leads to a ferry. In a burying-ground, on the road side, I had occasion to observe some of the numerous testimonies of the ravage committed by consumption in the United States, and particularly among females. Of the inscriptions on ten grave-stones, bearing the names of married women, the ages, on no less than eight, were between twenty-two years and thirty.

At the ferry, on the Kennebec, the banks are high and rocky, and the current, which is pent between a narrow channel, is so rapid, that but for the eddies, it would scarcely be practicable to cross it. The ascent on the high hills on the opposite side is so far covered with wood, that I was able to lose my way; but, at a short distance,

is the large village of Bath, with its commerce and ship-building.

Bath covers a very wide extent of ground, and contains many large buildings; but, here, even more than in other sea-ports of the United States, building, according to some, is carried to too great an extent. The constant doctrine, on this side of the question, is, that the existing commerce of the United States must and will, diminish in a very serious proportion, whenever there shall be a cessation of war in Europe.—Many large vessels now lay in the harbour, and several were loading at the wharfs. Bath is a hundred and sixty miles north-east of Boston.

There are in this village two congregational churches. One, as is said, would have been sufficient; but, zeal, political if not religious, has raised a second. The inhabitants of federal politics had taken the lead in beginning to build a church, and to provide for a clergyman; but this circumstance piqued the antifederalists so much, that making extraordinary exertions, they built and finished a church of their own, procured a clergyman, and opened their church, before the federalists had even finished the building begun before that of their opponents!

Bath comprehends the northern portion of the main land included within the former limits of Georgetown. Georgetown was incorporated in

1718, and contained, according to the limits which it then enjoyed, the principal portion of the country previously called Sagadahoc. This county occupies the west of the mouth of the Kennebec, as the country of Pemaquid or Pemkuit, including the modern Bristol, occupies the east. There was anciently a principal fort, in both one and the other; Fort Pemaquid being in the first, and Fort Pejipscot, or Pejipscuit, at Pejisiscot Falls, in the second.

The colony of Plymouth, in Massachusetts Bay, and which was early united with the colony of Massachusetts, established itself for the prosecution of the fur-trade; and accordingly we find it, from its commencement, industriously pursuing that trade, and erecting forts or trading-houses as far north as the Penobscot, and to the south as far as the Delaware. The colony was established in the year 1620, and it had a fort on the Kennebec in 1628, and on the Penobscot in 1626.

The colonists of Plymouth were a part of a congregation of sectarists, called, or calling themselves *puritans*, and who, after quitting England, on account of their dissatisfaction with the religious views of their fellow-subjects, over whom they were too few in number to exercise control, established themselves, in the year 1608, in Leyden. In the year 1617, or rather for

some time before, the project of removing to the American coast was canvassed among the congregation, and approved of by a certain number. The project had several features of a nature to recommend it, but the most prominent was that of the amendment it promised to the condition of the adventurers. In Leyden, they had heard frequent mention of the Dutch colony of the New Netherlands on Hudson's River, and of the profits of its fur-trade; and their sons, who had grown up since they left England, who were to be provided for, and who had the enterprise of youth, had sailed to the colony in Dutch ships, and probably entered in some small degree into the trade. But, beside furs, the prospect of mines of precious metals, to be discovered in all parts of America, was another flattering inducement. Only twenty-four heads of families, however, determined on removing.

Negotiations, in behalf of the proposed adventurers, were carried on in London, on the one hand to obtain a grant of lands from the company holding the grant of the crown, and on the other to form a commercial arrangement with men of capital, willing to embark in the two objects that went together, the furs and fisheries. Both those objects were attained; and the Plymouth colonists were supplied by their partners in London, with the annual sup-

plies of goods adapted to the Indian trade. The commercial contract was entered into for seven years, at the expiration of which, (in the year 1628,) the colonists were in debt with the contractors in London, through deficiency of returns. Serious misunderstandings prevailing between the two parties, and further supplies being refused, the colonists borrowed money, though at a high interest, and thenceforth pursued the trade exclusively on their own account.

In drawing this very slight sketch of the basis upon which the first colony was established in New England, I have had in view to produce a contrast to the false colouring that has been elaborately thrown over that enterprise. It is not true, as it is notwithstanding commonly asserted, that religious motives were the inducement for colonization; and, in like manner, it is not true, that if religious motives were the inducement, religious liberty (as it is also commonly asserted) was the object of pursuit. Religious motives, no doubt, carried those, who were afterward the colonists of Plymouth, from England to Leyden; but it was the desire (a very irreprehensible one) of improving their worldly circumstances, that carried them from Leyden across the Atlantic. It is, however, to the colony of Plymouth that these

remarks more entirely apply. The colonies of Naumkeag or Salem, of Massachusetts and its offspring, Connecticut, and the colony of New-haven, were formed by emigrants direct from England, and whose motives therefore, in the general, were, similar to those which carried the first emigrants to Leyden. In the colonies last mentioned, many, among those who thought with the rest upon religious matters, were still chiefly drawn to America by a hope of fortune; but, some, on the other hand, renounced easy circumstances in England, to encounter, in indulgence of their principles, the privations and hardships of the colonies.

But, where religious motives are justly to be imputed to the adventurers, it is not true that religious liberty was what they sought for.

By the phrase religious liberty, it is to be presumed, the world in general understands religious toleration, and what is called liberty of conscience; and it was for the sake and propagation of religious liberty, that as we are constantly told, New England was first colonized. It is, indeed, to be confessed, that among such as hold this language, there are some, who, unable to reconcile this supposed principle of the colonists with their known practice, have added, that in truth, religious liberty was not any where understood in their time;—but, more infor-

mation, or more reflection, would have prevented them from attempting to magnify the views of those colonists, at the expense of impeaching their comprehension. The colonists did comprehend, did understand most perfectly, what religious liberty is; and, understanding and comprehending it, they abhorred it.

They abhorred religious liberty: that they did so, and why they did so, there are endless testimonies; and there are also endless testimonies of the manner in which they acted consequently. What they really thought, of toleration and liberty of conscience, may in part appear from the language of a popular preacher, the Reverend Mr. Nathaniel Ward, the framer of the Laws of Massachusetts, adopted under the title of its *Body of Liberties*. In what this writer here advances, there will be acknowledged to discover itself the clearest conception of the nature of religious liberty, as well as the clearest account of the principles upon which, in a theological view, its enemies reject it. The sense of the several passages will require no illustration; but it may be proper to observe that the language burns with polemic heat, and is distinguished by the style and diction of a former age.

"To *authorize* an untruth," says Mr. Ward, in a sentence which may be regarded as containing the fundamental view and proposition, "To

" *authorize* an untruth, by a *toleration* of state,
" is to build a sconce against the walls of hea-
" ven, to batter God out of his chair."

Proceeding afterward to amplify upon this doctrine, he expresses himself, in different places, as follows: " The persecution of true religion, " and the toleration of false, are the Jannes and " Jambres to the kingdom of Christ, whereof " the last is far the worst. Augustine's tongue " had not owed his mouth one penny rent, " though he had never spoke a word more in it, " but this: *Nullum malum pejus libertate er-* " *randi.*****If the state of England shall either " willingly tolerate, or weakly connive, at such " courses, the church of that kingdom will " sooner become the Devil's dancing-school than " God's temple.****There is talk of an univer- " sal toleration. I would talk as loud as I could " against it, did I know what more apt and " reasonable sacrifice England could offer " to God for his late performing all his hea- " venly truths, than an universal toleration of " all hellish errors; or how they shall make an " universal reformation, but by making Christ's " academy the Devil's university, where any man " may commence heretic *per saltum;* where he " that is *filius diabolicus*, or *simpliciter pessimus*, " may *have his grace* to go to hell *cum privilegio*,

" and carry as many after him as he can. It is " said, that men ought to have liberty of con- " science. I can rather stand amazed than re- " ply to this: it is an astonishment to think the " brains of men should be parboiled in such im- " pious ignorance! Let all the wits under hea- " ven lay their heads together, and find an asser- " tion worse than this, one excepted, I will peti- " tion to be chosen the universal ideot of the " world!"*

It is proper to add, that Mr. Ward was not a man who taught doctrines offensive to the multitude, and agreeable only to those in power. He was a popular member of the colony; and, in 1641, was chosen by the popular party to preach an election sermon, in usurpation, as appears from Governor Winthrop's Journal, of the governor's right to appoint.†

* See The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America, London, 1648.

† See *Monthly Anthology*, vol. vii. pp. 342, 343.

## CHAPTER LXXIII.

*Massachusetts—Maine—Brunswic—Pejipscot Falls—Bowdoin College.*

FROM Bath to Brunswic, whence I first set out for the Kennebec, is a distance of about twenty miles, in a north-west direction. The road lies at first on a narrow isthmus, round the head of a deep inlet of Casco Bay, called Steven's River. The soil is generally sandy, and covered with a forest of black pine.

The isthmus separates the inlet of Casco Bay from Merry-meeting Bay, which is the common estuary of the Kennebec and Amariscoggan. It is an ancient carrying-place of the Indians, by which they used to avoid the navigation round the peninsula of Georgetown or Sagadahoc, in their voyages between the rivers of Maine and Casco Bay. One Stevens had a trading-house here; and, from him, the carrying-place acquired the name of Stevens's Carrying-place, and the river, of Ste-

vens's River. Merry-meeting Bay was possibly so named from the meeting of the rivers; but more probably from the meetings of the Indian voyagers.

Brunswic occupies the western and broader part of the peninsula, lying between Casco Bay and the Amariscoggan. Its soil is generally sandy; but its situation, on the south side of Pejipscot Falls, and at the mouth of the Amariscoggan, is favourable to the lumber-trade, and hence it has the ordinary share of population; that is, from two to three thousand souls. Brunswic has four or five district schools, and a church lately built. The latter has been performed by subscription, and the subscribers hold the property of the building, expecting to be reimbursed by the sales of the pews. The subscribers also hope, by this undertaking, to collect a *society*, and to establish a clergyman, neither of which are yet in the town.

At the Falls, called both Pejipscot Falls and Brunswic Falls, there are forty saws. A saw, that is well attended, will saw four thousand feet of boards per day; but much more has been occasionally done, and particularly in consequence of wagers. An ordinary log gives eight hundred feet; but some give fourteen or even fifteen hundred. The mills, to each of which there belongs four men, are attended night and

day, one man attending all night. The men receive twenty dollars per month, beside board. They commonly drink a quart of the best West Indian rum per day each. The rum is worth two shillings currency per quart.

The mill-owners purchase logs as high as seventy miles up the river, paying an average price of three dollars per log. On purchasing them, they mark them with their private mark; and all the delivery that is expected of the purchaser is, that after cutting down the tree, and trimming the trunk of its top and branches, he shall put it into the nearest part of the river, and leave it to descend to the mills. As there are several cataracts and other obstructions in the river, the logs frequently rest on their voyage, and are sometimes six or seven years in arriving. When they are arrested only by natural causes, a high flood commonly brings many down, or at least forwards them one or two stages; but, there are mills on various parts of the stream above, and it sometimes happens that the owners of those mills appropriate them to themselves; and they have also other enemies, in the scattered shingle-makers or lumberers: on the whole, however, the mill-owners below find that they only lose about a fourth of the logs they purchase. In navigable rivers, the logs are fastened together in rafts, and navigated down the stream.

Arrived above Pejipscot Falls, the logs are easily drawn out of the water, by means of an apparatus dependent on the machinery of the mill; but, they are sometimes carried by the water below the Falls, and in this case they are pursued, and sold, at Bath, where there is a small number of saws at work. To be out upon the water, ascertaining the several marks on the logs as they arrive, is a needful employment for those interested. When found, they are floated within a boom.

There are other falls in the bed of the river, below the great falls, to which latter vessels cannot approach within two miles. Bath is the sea-port of Brunswic, whence its lumber is exported to the West Indies. Vessels are built at Brunswic, but they sail only from Bath. In all these quarters, the apprehensions of a war with Great Britain produced serious concern.

The river, that I have here called the Amariscoggan, and which, among its other names, is now called Brunswic River, is said to have its highest sources to the north of the White Mountains, whence, winding round their western feet, it flows to the south-east, receiving in its course, a part of the streams that descend from the east side of the mountains, and also the water of Lake Umbagog. Its name is variously written Amariscoggan, Amariscoggin, Ameriscoggin, and even Androscoggin; and the latter is now the

favourite sound of the word. At Saint François, from some of Zanghe'darankiac, or people from the mouth of this river, I learned, that they call it, or rather its banks, *Amilcungantiquoke*, or *banks of the river abounding in dried meat;* that is, *in venison.* This word, *Amilcungantiquoke*, is certainly the etymon of *Amariscoggan*, and the rest. As to *Androscoggin*, it has probably originated in a mis-print; the *d* being put for an *a*, and the *n* subsequently exchanged for an *m*, to accommodate the previous error. In the Algonquin dialects, the letter *l* is convertible, several nations using in its place either *t*. *th*, *n* or *r*. Hence, the first syllables in the compound word or phrase, *Amilcungantiquoke*, may be pronounced *Amircungan*, or *Amiscungan*, or *Amariscungan*, or *Amiriscoggin*, or *Amiriscuggan*, which last is perhaps the orthography that would best reconcile the etymology with an English and brief enunciation. As to *Amariscoggin* and *Ameriscoggin*, they have obtained, as to the second vowel, only as the sounds *maracle* and *sperit* obtain for *miracle* and *spirit;* and, as to the vowel in the last syllable, the change may be ascribed to the narrow sound uniformly given in New England to a vowel so placed: thus Jud*ah* is sounded Jude*h* or Jud*y*, and Amer*ica*, Americk*ay*. In England, also, we have *charicter* for *character*, and *waggin* for *waggon*.

But, from Ameriscoggin, *Meri*scoggin; and may not this be the origin of the name *Merry*-meeting? Again, it seems probable, that the name *Merri*mac, and other topographical names in North America, beginning with the same two syllables, have reference to dried meat, an object so conspicuous in the domestic economy of the Indians.

The Amiriscuggan or Amariscoggan is named in Charlevoix's map *Sagadahoc;* a circumstance to be attributed either to the exclusive application to this river of the name of Sagadahoc, which was the name of the common mouth of the Kennebec and Amariscoggan, or to what is mentioned in Mr. Sullivan's History, that the mouths of several rivers were so called; and that *Schunkadarunk*, which may be the word intended, signifies *the mouth of a great river.* It is this word, *Schunkadarunk*, otherwise to be written *Zanghe'darank*, that gives name to the *Zanghe'darankiac* or *Ozanghe'darankiac*, who were described to me as the people of the common mouth of the Kennebec and Amariscoggan; that is, the *Sagadahoc* of the early colonists. *Pejipscot* is the name said to be applied, either to the cataract itself, or to the broken water between the cataract and Merry-meeting Bay.

The timber of principal importance in the mast and lumber trade is that of the white or

Weymouth pine, (*pinus strobus*,) yellow, red or Norway pine, (*pinus pinea.*) Of the white pine, the lumberers distinguish two varieties, one of which they call *punkin pine*, and which is the white pine of rich wet lands; and one which they call the *sapling*, or the white pine of upland dry situations. In a preceding chapter, I have referred the *sapling* of the lumberers to the yellow, red or Norway pine; but this is a mistake. They apply the name sapling, (*sapin*, a fir-tree,) which they speak corruptly after the French, only to a variety of white pine. Their *punkin pine* is the white pine commonly known in commerce, and particularly for its supply of masts. The name *punkin* (pompion) they employ on account of the softness and fine grain of the wood. The growth of this tree averages a hundred and sixty feet, and frequently reaches a hundred and seventy and even two hundred feet, and sometimes two hundred and twenty. It is not only used for masts and for house-timber, but is also sawed into boards and plank. The white pine of the uplands is of a growth comparatively small, and the wood is hard, and of a coarse grain. The yellow pine, called in Europe red pine, is of a large growth, but inferior to the white pine; and may be distinguished in the forest by the shortness of its leaf, and darker green

colour. The black pine or pitch pine (*pinus tæda*) grows in sands, has a very long leaf, and a bark in very large scales. Its wood is of a coarse fibre, and is used only to burn for the potash that it affords. The white pine is found only in loams more or less rich; the red pine affects light and sandy soils; and the black pine is content with the driest and coarsest sands. The lumberers include all timbers under the two general names of *soft wood* and *hard wood;* meaning by *soft wood* all the evergreens, and by *hard wood* all deciduous, or, as they call them, *round-leaved* trees.

Brunswic contains the university of Maine, recently established, and called Bowdoin College, in honour of Mr. Bowdoin, a principal benefactor. A handsome edifice of red brick, adapted for the accommodation of sixty-four students, is now building, on a spot cleared out of the forest, adjacent to the street. The present number of students is forty. The college is in daily expectation of receiving its first president; its highest officers consisting, at present, in two professors, one of philosophy and the other of languages. These professorships are filled by Messieurs Abbot and Freeman, to both which gentlemen I am indebted for many civilities. The library contains fifteen hundred volumes; and, in the philosophical lecture-

room, is an apparatus of more than two thousand dollars value, together with a small cabinet of rarities. The expense of the students for tuition, lectures included, is twenty-one dollars per annum; and their board, which they obtain in private houses, costs two dollars and a quarter per week. Before admission, they are required to have gone through Virgil, and through Tully's Select Orations, and must undergo an examination in the Greek Testament. They must also be acquainted with the common rules of arithmetic, and possess a good character for regularity of deportment. At the commencement this year, three students received degrees. The college has been endowed by the legislature with a hundred and fifteen thousand two hundred acres of land; but, as this, with small exceptions, is land in forest, the avails at present drawn from it are small.

Winter was now approaching. At Noridgewoc, I had met with heavy rains; but the weather was now changed to frosty and clear, with a trifling fall of snow. In the night of the of January, 1807, the mercury, in Farenheit's thermometer, fell at Brunswic to thirty degrees below the freezing point; and in the same night, at Hallowell, it fell to three degrees lower. Mr. Vaughan had even confidently reckoned upon seeing the mercury

freeze; but a change in the atmosphere suddenly supervened. The greatest heat that has been remarked at Brunswic, is ninety-two degrees.

The rigour of the climate of Maine is however every day decreasing, and with it, in some degree, the salubrity. Whether from the removal of the forest, or from any other cause, but apparently from this, the duration and intenseness of the cold weather is shortened and moderated; while, in proportion, the atmosphere is less dry, and in consequence the skies less uniformly bright. As the country is cleared toward the sea, the fogs of the coast advance into the interior. Consumption was formerly very rare, if not unknown in Maine, and it is still less frequent here than in the countries more extensively under cultivation; but cases now increase. It deserves to be remarked, that cures are said to be effected, by sending the patient into the uncleared parts of the country. The balsamic effluvia of the trees is supposed, by some, to be the cause of cure. By others, the opinion is treated as a fable; but, whether it be a fable or not, the air of the forest may be beneficial, even without taking into account its more sensible property, the grateful effluvia of the trees.

The cleared land, round the village of Brunswic, is closely encompassed by the forest;

at the end, however, of a long causey of logs, carried through wet lands, we reach an open country, diversified by gentle hills, and having the beautiful bay, called Casco Bay,* on the right. Casco Bay is said to contain *three hundred and sixty-five* islands. The same number of islands is attributed to many other bodies of water; and, in the several instances, we sometimes find geographers gravely remarking, that they are not sure that the number is quite accurate, or that any actual enumeration has been made: it does not occur to them, that the specification of this number is only a periphrasis of the proverbial expression—*as many as there are days in the year.*

Freeport adjoins Brunswic; and beyond Freeport, in succession, are North Yarmouth, Falmouth, and Portland, of which the last was formerly a part of Falmouth; and all are on the coast of Casco Bay. A great part of the country is still in a wild condition, but has nevertheless a good road, and many well-built houses. Among the poorer inhabitants, wretchedness is not so conspicuous here as on the west of Portland; but some of the women and girls, however, are wrapped in coloured blankets, and some of their cottages are without chimneys, or any thing to stop

* Written *Cascobé*, and even *Kaskébé*, by the French.

windows, their clothes excepted. The soil is generally a clay; but masses of rock, large and small, are in such abundance as to supply stone walls for fences. The rock is in great proportion a white granite, formed of quartz, feldspar, mica and schoerl. The schoerl is in a crystalized state, affording large specimens of *tourmaline*. This rock, as I afterwards found, though unknown on the immediate shores of Massachusetts Bay, abounds at a short distance inland, or to the westward.

The clayey quality of the soil is productive of a phenomenon in the courses of the rivers, (all of which, however, between the Kennebec and Saco are small,) such, as being observed, in connection with others, may assist us in forming some estimate of the nature of the surface of a country, from an inspection of its ordinary maps. The phenomenon, to which I allude, is the extreme tortuosity or incessant winding of the course. This happens uniformly in clays and sands, and is easily accounted for. On the other hand, abrupt turns and sharp points in the course of a river, and violent aberrations from the line which it pursues, from its source to the sea, imply a rocky country. The Amariscoggan is an example of the latter.

Of the small rivers between the Kennebec and Portland, Royall's River or Cousin's or Cousins's

River, and the Presumpscot, are the most considerable. Royall's River derives this name from a settler, named John Royall. By the Indians it is said to have been called Wessecustego; (probably the same word with Wessagusset and Wiscasset;) but whether or not its name, of Cousin's or Cousins's River, is derived from Wessecustego, is doubtful. This river divides North Yarmouth from Freeport. At its mouth is a small harbour, and at a cataract a little above its mouth are saw-mills, and a small village.

The mouth of the Presumpscot, called formerly Presumpsca and Presumpskeag,* is on the east of Portland, as the inlet, called Stroudwater, is on the west. This river, which divides Portland from the modern Falmouth, flows from a short distance in the north-west, where its head is a small lake, called Lake Sebago. It turns several saw-mills.

Returned to Portland, where I had previously found a very good inn, I had occasion to overhear a little dialogue, between the obliging landlord and his independent bar-maid. The landlord stood at the head of the kitchen stairs, and addressed himself in a soothing voice to the damsel at their foot:

* History of Maine.

" Susan, a nice cup of tea, now, for one of " your townsmen !—"

" I *should* think that people might come at " tea-time !"

" —Psha ! why, he has been out of town— " Why, Susan, you are crazy !—*A'n't* you " crazy, Susan ?—Why, it's Major Toe !— " Come, Susan—there's a good girl—a nice cup " of tea !"

(*Surlily*) " I'll come, and see how he looks, " first !"

## CHAPTER LXXIV.

*Massachusetts—Maine—Portland.*

PORTLAND is the largest sea-port in Maine. The village is built on a promontory in the harbour, which lies in the western part of Casco Bay. In 1775, when it was called Falmouth, three-fourths of the buildings were destroyed by a bombardment from the British ships. The village is at present not only rebuilt, but rebuilt in a style very superior to the former, and greatly enlarged. The town was incorporated

in 1786, and by the name of Portland: a better taste, and a larger ambition, would have procured for it, as I think, the name of *Casco*. Portland is the county town of the county of Cumberland, which county contained, in the year 1800, nearly thirty-eight thousand souls. The population of the town is about five thousand.

There are here four churches, of which two belong to the congregational inhabitants, one to the anabaptist, and one to those of the church of England. The county court-house is a handsome structure of wood.

The buildings cover much ground, including wharfs, ship-yards, and all the appurtenances of commerce, together with some wide and handsome streets. Many of the houses are of brick, and are built in compact rows. On the west side, or that approached from Stroudwater, there is a populous neighbourhood of the lower sort. The brick buildings, though large, are in general of meaner workmanship than ordinary.

On Fort Hill, and contiguous to the Fort, is a building, called the Observatory, a name by which, however, we are not to understand an astronomical observatory, but only a marine signal-house. It was built by subscription, and is designed for the benefit of the commerce of the port. The level of the ground is a hundred and forty one feet above that of the harbour,

and the height of the building is eighty-two feet. At seventy-seven feet above the ground is placed a valuable telescope, for which constant attendance is provided. Its first use is that of discovering vessels at a great distance from the shore, and by that means obtaining information for their owners or consignees; its second is that of enabling the port to pay attention with all haste to signals of distress. In clear weather vessels are discoverable by the telescope at fifteen leagues distance, and colours or private signals, if presented fair to the Observatory, at eight leagues. Vessels desiring assistance are directed to hoist their ensigns above their private signals. From the gallery, there is a fine prospect of the bay.

The Observatory lies NN.W. a quarter W. from Portland Lighthouse. At four miles distance, a vessel bringing the Lighthouse and the Observatory to bear together, is about three quarters of a mile from a rock, called Alden's Rock.

Portland harbour is said to be an exceeding good one. The Fort, by which it is defended, and which mounts ten pieces of cannon, was built in the year 1795. On a point of land, called Portland-head, at the entrance of the harbour is a lighthouse, built in the year 1790. This edifice is of stone,

and is seventy-two feet high, exclusive of the lanthorn, and stands in forty-three degrees and thirty-nine minutes north latitude, and seventy degrees and thirteen minutes west longitude. The principal export of Portland is lumber of all kinds; but it also exports West and East India produce, has a coasting-trade, and is engaged in the fisheries. Its inland commerce has been mentioned as extending into Canada.

Commerce and commercial men, and consequently, with very minute exceptions, the whole population of Portland, was at this time in very distressful circumstances, consequent on the political state of the country. Solidity of capital is at all times out of the question in Portland; its whole trade is dependent either upon credit or upon borrowed funds, and funds borrowed at an interest often, of eighteen and even twenty per centum. Such is the value of money, and so universal the want of it, that it is become a regular practice, in the commercial world, to sustain an action at law for the payment of every custom-house bond. By so doing, a delay of from twelve months to two years is obtained; and, though this is not done but at an inevitable expense, in costs of suit, yet the interest of money that is saved makes this course of proceeding a means of profit.

Under such circumstances, a stagnation in trade is ruin; and this stagnation having occurred, the prospects of Portland were now of the most gloomy kind. A large number of failures had already taken place, and others were expected to follow.

Portland is already regarded as the metropolis of Maine; not that Maine is at present any thing more than a collective term for the seven eastern counties of Massachusetts, but that a separation of these counties from the general body of the territory, and their erection into an independent territory, is spoken of as an event to take place at some period not very distant. That it should take place is the wish of a part of the inhabitants of Maine; and no opposition appears to be intended by the remaining parts of the commonwealth. So long ago as the year 1785, town-meetings were held in Maine, for the discussion of this subject; and it has been constantly spoken of at all periods since: "Such is "the rapid settlement and growth of this coun-"try," says Dr. Morse, "that the period, when "this contemplated separation will take place, is "probably not far distant." In 1795, the author of the History of Maine concluded his work with these favourable remarks on the separation:—"This extensive country is so large and "populous, and its situation so peculiar, that it

"cannot remain long a part of the common-
"wealth of Massachusetts; but the difficulty of
"fixing on a seat of government, and that of
"travelling from one part to another of the ex-
"tensive territory, and the reluctance which the
"inhabitants of the western part have to going
"further east on governmental concerns, will for
"a while prevent a separation from the western
"part of the state, and retard the commence-
"ment of a new government in the northern part
"of United America. But, whenever the people
"can agree upon and procure a separation, it
"will give an energy to their public conduct,
"and a spirit of enterprise to their private exer-
"tions, which can never be produced by any
"other means. Events of such magnitude ge-
"nerally take place as soon as the nature of
"things, and a proper concurrence of circum-
"stances, render it fit and proper. While we la-
"ment the prospect of losing a part of our civil
"society, and suffer under the disagreeable ap-
"prehensions of being deprived, in some mea-
"sure, of the advantage of our political acquaint-
"ance, with so many good and valuable charac-
"ters, we rejoice in the anticipation of that ele-
"vated prosperity, and high degree of import-
"ance, to which the district must, from its pe-
"culiar advantages, be finally raised."*

* History of Maine, p. 396.

Meanwhile, the policy, that leads the western portion of Massachusetts to look with complacency, or even indifference, upon this separation, may reasonably excite some astonishment. It is a question, which, in my apprehension, eminently affects the interests of numerous individuals, and at the same time the interests of the public, and even the faith of the commonwealth.

In the year 1691, the English province of Maine, extending from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec, and the French province of Acadia, extending from the Kennebec to the Sainte-Croix, were incorporated into the province of Massachusetts Bay. The two ancient provinces have since come to be known under the single appellation of Maine.

Of the soil, thus acquired, Massachusetts possessed, and still continues to possess, not only the sovereignty, but a great part of the property. From a report, made in the year 1795, by a committee of the legislature of Massachusetts, on the affairs of the public lands in Maine, commonly called Eastern Lands, that committee, appointed in 1783, appears to have found the quantity of the lands to amount to seventeen millions and a half of acres.*

* The following items are collected from the several statements in the Report, as cited in the American Universal Geography:

These lands, the government of Massachusetts has offered for sale, and in part sold; and, to the proprietors, holding under the titles thus conveyed, it seems due that the government should not be changed. They have purchased of the government of Massachusetts; but who will assure them that their claims shall be respected by a new government, to be established in Maine?

Fears, such as may be entertained in this regard, are known not to be without foundation. A new government is desired in Maine, on account of grievances suffered, or pretended to be suffer-

| | Acres. |
|---|---|
| Lands sold, or contracted to be sold, | 4,509,808 |
| Do. contracted for by Messrs. Flint and Jackson, including 103,680 acres, reserved for masts to the state, | 2,839,453 |
| Do. not under contract, | 956,407 |
| Do. unsurveyed, by estimate, | 7,200,000 |
| Do. between the Sainte-Croix and Passamaquaddy, then claimed by Great Britain, but since confirmed to Massachusetts, | 2,000,000 |
| Do. on the Great Isle of Holt, 4,968 acres and three quarters; and on upwards of a hundred other islands, lying between the Penobscot and Passamaquaddy, about 5,000 acres; in the whole, | 9,968 3-4 |
| Total | 17,515,636 3-4 |

ed, under the existing one.* It is not, therefore, a change of government only, but a revolution in principles, that is in view. Of the grievances complained of, the most serious is the condition of landed property, produced by the sales made by Massachusetts; and if a redress of grievances, or pretended grievances, is the aim, the landed property may be made to experience very rude attacks.

The situation of the large proprietor is at present sufficiently difficult. Upon visiting his lands, he finds the timber cut down and sold, and crops growing, houses built, and possession taken by a race of men, (the settlers and lumberers,) who, in this view, are called *squatters;* and these men, instead of making submission, or any restitution for waste committed, demand, either to be left owners of the soil, or paid for their *betterments;* that is, for what they have done toward clearing the ground. On these *betterments*, they fix their own value; and, if this is

* In 1785, delegates from a number of towns, in the counties of York, Cumberland and Lincoln, met in convention, at Portland, and resolved, "That a committee "of nine be chosen to make out a statement of grievances the three counties labour under; and also an esti- "mate of the expense of a separate government, and "compare it with the expense of the government we "are now under."

not acquiesced in, or something made to their satisfaction, they set the rest at defiance. The rifle is always ready; and *squatters* have even now, in more than one instance, fired on a proprietor, on his own land. A sheriff's officer, attempting to serve a writ of ejectment, is very commonly received with this weapon; and if the murderer, through some accidental want of strength on the popular side, is apprehended and carried to gaol, a rescue is effected by his friends, either by intimidating the gaoler, or by breaking open the gaol. It has already happened, in the county of Kennebec, that the sheriff has made a formal representation to the government, that he was prevented, by general resistance, from executing his office.*

* This was during the administration of His Excellency Governor Sullivan, by whom a proclamation was issued in consequence. About the same time, the gaol at Augusta was surrounded and the prisoners released. This, as it was reported, at the time, was the result of a popular ferment, occasioned by the sending to gaol persons guilty of contravening the *embargo*; but the affair had no real connection with any but *squatters*.

*Squatters* are not peculiar to Maine. In the interior of Pennsylvania, in the autumn of 1807, a sheriff's officer or deputy-sheriff, attempting to serve a writ of ejectment, had one of his party shot dead. The depu-

The question, as it regards the interests of the commonwealth, though not more serious in its nature, is more considerable in its magnitude. Upon what principle of policy is it, that a state prepares itself thus cheerfully to part with two-fifths of its population, and more than half its territory? If Maine is aggrieved by the conduct of its present government, means of reparation ought to be found, and a new system pursued; but surely separation should be seriously and decidedly opposed.

The separation is anticipated on two grounds; one, the extent and population of the country, and the other, the prosperity to which it is intimated that it can arrive only in an independent condition.

But, why is its extent and population to be regarded as necessarily precluding its long continuance in union with the remaining parts of Massachusetts? Why should an increased population on the Kennebec or Penobscot imply a necessity of separation, more than a similar increase on the Connecticut?

As to the interests of Massachusetts, they must surely be understood to demand the greatest possible extent of territory and population. The

ty-sheriff called for the militia, but only fifteen militiamen could be found, while the *squatters* were from forty to fifty strong.

merits of the question must therefore turn on the interests of Maine. But, how can the interests of Maine be injured by its union with Massachusetts? in other words, what interest, pursued by Massachusetts can be hostile to the interests of Maine? The best interests of Massachusetts must be promoted by the prosperity of every part of her territory; and, to admit that Maine, were she released from the control of the remaining moiety of the commonwealth, would be more prosperous than now, is to admit that the actual control of that remaining moiety is increased to the disadvantage of Maine, and therefore to the disadvantage of the entire commonwealth. This may be the fact; but, if it is, it is the policy that requires to be renounced, and not the dominion.

The importance of preserving, and thereby honourably increasing its resources, cannot escape the attention of each particular state, composing the United States; and yet less weight appears to be attached to this object than it obviously deserves. Constituted as is the federate government, it must be essential to the welfare of every member of the confederation to acquire and maintain the greatest preponderance within its reach. This would be true, let the form of the compact be as it might; but, such as the compact is, it is indispensable, in any rational

view of self-defence. The physical strength, the votes of each particular state in the national councils, is made dependent upon actual population; to preserve and increase its population, therefore, is the only means by which each particular state can preserve and increase its physical strength among its fellows. The preponderance of Virginia is a frequent subject of regret, in Massachusetts; but whence can the supposed preponderance arise, but from superiority of population? Massachusetts, in her present integrity, possesses a population greater than the white population of Virginia; and why, at any time, should Massachusetts voluntarily surrender the only weapons she has to use, in her domestic warfare with that power whom she so often contemplates as her natural enemy?

The soil comprehended within the ancient province of Maine, which is said to have possessed a surface of nine thousand six hundred square miles,* was originally granted, in 1639, by Charles the Second, to Sir Ferdinando Georges or Gorges.† Its name of Maine was adopted by the grantee, in compliment to the queen, a part of whose portion had been the province of Mayne or Meyne in Germany.‡ The

* Douglas's Summary.

† American Annals, vol. i.

‡ History of the District of Maine.

ancient orthography, of Meyne or Mayne, deserves to be resumed: from *Maine* it is frequently changed into *Main*, and even *the Main;* the last under an apparent persuasion that the name denotes *the main land*, in contradistinction to *islands*.

## CHAPTER LXXV.

*Massachusetts—Maine—Population—Militia.*

IN the year 1800, the population in Massachusetts, including the counties of Maine, appear, from the census taken, to have amounted to five hundred and seventy-three thousand, five hundred and twenty-six souls.

*Massachusetts.*

| Counties. | Inhabitants. |
|---|---|
| 1. Suffolk, | 28,015 |
| 2. Norfolk, | 27,216 |
| 3. Essex, | 61,196 |
| 4. Middlesex, | 46,928 |
| 5. Hampshire, | 72,432 |
| 6. Plymouth, | 30,073 |
| 7. Bristol, | 33,880 |
| 8. Barnstable, | 19,293 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 9. Duke's, | 3,118 | |
| 10. Nantucket, | 5,617 | |
| 11. Worcester, | 61,192 | |
| 12. Berkshire, | 33,670 | |
| | | 422,630 |

*Maine.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 13. York, | 37,729 | |
| 14. Cumberland, | 37,921 | |
| 15. Oxford,* | | |
| 16. Kennebec, | 24,394 | |
| 17. Lincoln, | 30,100 | |
| 18. Hancock, | 16,316 | |
| 19. Washington, | 4,436 | |
| | | 150,896 |
| Total | | 573,526† |

In 1790, the total population amounted to four hundred and seventy-five thousand, two hundred and sixty-seven thousand souls. Sub-

* A new county, created in 1805. Its population is included in that of the counties of York and Cumberland, of the northern parts of both of which it is composed.

† In the same year, the white population of Virginia amounted to 534,396 souls.

joined is a short table of the population of Massachusetts at some remoter periods:

| Years. | Number of Colonists. |
|---|---|
| 1722 | 94,000 |
| 1742 | 164,000 |
| 1751 | 164,484* |
| 1761 | 216,000 |
| 1765 | 255,000 |
| 1771 | 292,000 |
| 1773 | 300,000 |

The following is a return of militia and volunteer military companies for the year 1807:

| | |
|---|---|
| Infantry, rank and file, 55,857; but, the total number of infantry, including officers, is | 64,550 |
| Cavalry, including officers, | 2,843 |
| Artillery, do. do. | 2,930 |
| Total, | 70,323 |

In 1805, the total number was sixty-four thousand and eighty-nine.

* A year of war, and the small-pox.

## CHAPTER LXXVI.

*New Hampshire—White Mountains.*

SIXTY miles, in a direct line, to the westward of Casco Bay, are the White Mountains, in which consist the highest parts of the range that separates the valley of the Connecticut from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. These mountains, of which the summits are estimated to be ten thousand feet above the level of the sea, are seen from various situations, in all the surrounding country, and by vessels sailing along the coast, from the Piscataqua to the Sainte-Croix. The season was now too much advanced for ascending them, and even for visiting them to advantage; but, beside other sufficient motives for my visit, they afforded me the most direct road, from Portland into the upper parts of New Hampshire, and into Vermont.

Gorham, which contains the first populous village to the west of Portland, lies on the north-east bank of the Saco, at fifteen miles above its mouth. Though, at sea, the White Mountains are visible from Casco Bay, it was only at Gorham that I first beheld them, after leaving

the Kennebec. Higher up the Saco, in a country exceedingly romantic, are the towns of Hiram, Fryburg and Conway, of which the last is in the territory of New Hampshire.—At Hiram, on the seventeenth day of November, I experienced the first serious fall of snow. There was formerly an Indian village on the site of Conway, called the village of Pâgwâki.—*Pâgwâki* implies *soil brought down* by a mountain-stream—or, a country upon which soil is so brought down. The word is commonly written either *Pigwacket*, *Picwocket*, or *Pigwolket*.—Above Conway is Bartlett, the last *town* on the east side of the mountains, the lands above being at present only called *locations*. Bartlett, till lately was not a *town*, but only a *plantation*. *Location* is a modern term, for a tract of land, of which the limits are defined, and the property conveyed to a purchaser. The same thing was formerly called a *plantation*. A turnpike-road is carried through a defile in the mountains, called the Notch. From Conway, I had a superb view of the White Mountains, distant about twenty miles.

The road, leaving the banks of the Saco, begins to ascend the mountains; and, at the distance of about twelve miles, is a turn-

pike-gate, after passing which, the traveller may consider himself as fairly upon their side. Through the whole of this day's journey, I found myself encircled sometimes by the sides of rocks and woody hills, sometimes on commanding eminences, with cleared and cultivated lands below them; sometimes in pleasing valleys, where the Saco, here a diminished stream, ran among the trees over a stony bed: but, toward evening, the scenery became more characteristic, and more impressive. As I advanced, I found the mountains on either hand approach nearer and nearer to each other, overhanging with rocky cliffs the woods. The sky was overcast, and the wind murmured hollow among the trees. At eight miles from the turnpike-gate, there is a small public-house, a humble dwelling, loosely fabricated with plank, in which I obtained an indifferent meal, but found at the same time a file of newspapers for my instruction. They were of course of anti-federal politics, and filled with the grievances of the people of Maine, and the enormities of British perfidy and tyranny. At a further distance of seven miles, there is another house; and there is one, as I was given to understand, near the turnpike-gate, but hidden in the woods: with these exceptions, the whole is a solitude. Against the barn of the first public-house, three

fresh bear-skins were stretched to dry.—The bear most frequent in this vicinity is of the small black species. The lynx, here called *loo-cervee*, (*loup-cervier*) is not uncommon.

The second house is only three miles short of the Notch. At this distance, the defile becomes very narrow, and contracts rapidly at every step that we advance. The ascent of the road is here steep, and it was now covered with two feet of snow. At about a mile from the house, two bridges are thrown over small streams, or rather the beds of torrents which here join the Saco. Of these streams, one, from the trough or flume of solid rock, through which it passes at this place, has been called the Flume. The narrowness of the defile here renders every object interesting; and the interest increases as we approach the extreme point of convergence, where the rocks are said to be by measurement only twenty-two feet asunder. Here, there is naturally only a deep and rugged ravine; but a raised and artificial road is carried along the north side, while on the south is left a free passage for the torrent (at this time tranquil) in which consists the infant Saco. The source of the river is now nearer at hand; for, the Notch, of which the length is small, being passed, a meadow is discovered, of which the situation is so precisely on the summit of this part of the mountains,

that the Saco descends from it on the east, and the Amonoosuc on the west. The meadow is called the Beaver Meadow, as having been originally formed by the dams built by beaver, across the heads of the two rivers. The effect of the dams being to create an expanse of water, the trees previously growing within them, and which are partly preyed upon by the animal, are wholly rotted away; and the dams being in the end abandoned by the beaver, and broken through by the water, large tracts of meadow-land are formed, which, from their origin, are described as beaver-meadows. From the Beaver Meadow, the road descends through a pine-forest, the mountains rapidly receding on the right hand and left. Some cleared spots present themselves; and at the distance of six miles is a house, the dwelling of Captain Rosebrook, on the north bank of the Amonoosuc, and within the limits of Nash and Sawyer's Location.

The elevation of the Beaver Meadow is generally estimated to be half that of the highest summit of the mountains, or nearly five thousand feet; and this was the greatest height to which I had any opportunity of ascending. Even the whole country beneath, for many miles to the westward of the Beaver Meadow, was deeply buried in snow.

The name *Amonoosuc*, which is given to the river whose course we are now to follow to its confluence with the Connecticut, is characteristic of a mountain-stream, and is found attached to many other mountain-streams, in various but literal translations. It is compounded of *amonos*, mad, wild or turbulent, and *tiquoke*, the banks of a river; or of *amonostiquoke* with the addition of *suc* or *sut*, a suffix, signifying *at* or *by*. Of its more ancient turbulence, a monument appears, in the knoll upon which Captain Rosebrook has built his house, and of which the composition is entirely of sand on the one side, and entirely of large pebbles on the other. Here, therefore, there must have been an eddy, of which the strength was sufficient to carry ponderous stones for a given distance, but only light sand for the remainder. Two streams, both called Amonoosuc, descend from the White Mountains into the Connecticut, of which ours is distinguished, either as the Lower or Greater, and the other as the Upper or Lesser.

Since I left Conway, I had not seen the summits of the mountains, nor are they visible on this side till we have advanced many miles. In the space intervening, the summits of the lower hills in the range are lofty enough to intercept the view. At six miles from Captain Rosebrook's is another farm, belong-

ing to one of the captain's sons, and within a plantation or location called Briton's Woods. In the intervening space, only one small spot is cleared.

It is the common, and, as I shall perhaps show, the well founded persuasion, of those that are acquainted with the White Mountains only by report, that their summits present a white appearance, not only in that large portion of the year during which they are covered with snow, but also in all the rest. To this persuasion, however, Dr. Belknap, the very respectable historian of New Hampshire, has opposed, upon what he imagines to be final evidence, a direct and positive contradiction: " During the period " of nine or ten months," says this writer, " the " mountains exhibit more or less of that bright " appearance from which they are denominated " *white*. In the spring, when the snow is partly " dissolved, they appear of a pale blue, streaked " with white; and, after it is wholly gone, at the " distance of sixty miles they are altogether of " the same pale blue, nearly approaching a sky " colour; while, at the same time, viewed at the " distance of eight miles or less, they appear of " the proper colour of the rock. These changes " are observed by people who live within con- " stant view of them; and, from these facts and

" observations, it may with certainty be con-
" cluded, that the whiteness of them is wholly
" caused by snow, and not by any other white
" substance ; for, in fact, there is none."*

Dr. Belknap, in this account, as the reader perceives, places his reliance on the statements of persons very incompetent to make such as are to the purpose. The diversified appearance of the mountains, under different changes of the atmosphere, can admit of no question ; and, when we are told, that at the distance of eight miles or less, they appear of the proper colour of the rock, we require to be further informed, whether the colour meant is that which the rock wears when the sun shines on it, or when it does not.

I saw the White Mountains only when their summits were covered with snow ; but, that they appear white at all seasons of the year, is what I was assured of, both on the Kennebec and on their western side. It has happened also, that I have been enabled to observe a phenomenon in all respects similar, in situations which illustrate, in the strictest manner, this part of the history of the White Mountains.

* Dr. Belknap's History of New Hampshire.

The younger Rosebrook, in Briton's Woods, commonly performs the office of guide to the few persons, who, in the course of a summer, ascend these mountains. The question, whether, when the snow is melted, the mountains appear white or not, is one which he is called upon to answer by every visitant; and, in consequence of my inquiries, he communicated to me the following facts, as the result and amount of his observations:

1. That the summits do appear white, when seen from a considerable distance.

2. That they do not appear so when seen from nearer points of view.

3. That having seen them white, when at a considerable distance, it has puzzled him, when upon their summits, to discover what might be the cause of the white appearance, there being nothing white there. Among those, who, instead of denying, have attempted to account for the phenomenon, the white appearance has been attributed to a pale green and weather-bleached moss, overrunning the shrubs and rocks; but, this explanation he accounts unsatisfactory, because very large tracts, and even the principal proportion of the summit, is a rock perfectly naked, and without even moss to whiten its surface.

All, therefore, that I was able to learn, from the observers of the White Mountains, was this, that the whiteness of the summits, when devoid of snow, is an unquestionable fact; and, at the same time that the substance of the summits, when viewed under the feet, is not white.

When I had crossed the Connecticut, and also the Green Mountains, and arrived on the high land which overlooks Lake Champlain, I was surprised by the accidental remark of a farmer, in the town of Leicester, concerning the mountains on the west shore of that lake, that "some "of their tops were white all the year round, "even when the snow was gone."—I had not expected this remark, because I was at this time unaware, that though the summer whiteness of the White Mountains is commonly spoken of in these countries as something extraordinary, and though its existence is even denied, in a history of the country in which they lie, still the phenomenon truly belongs, not only to the White Mountains, so called, but to an infinity of other mountains in their neighbourhood.

At length, in visiting the Saint-Lawrence, which I saw in the summer season, I found ample evidence, both of the possibility and of the occasion of the phenomenon. All the country, lying on the west side of the peninsula which I have for-

merly described, and stretching westward to Hudson's Bay, and even to the Pacific Ocean, abounds, as I am persuaded, with mountains, resembling, in the particular here in view, the White Mountains of New Hampshire. Those which I saw are below Quebec, in Baie Saint-Paul, on the west bank of the Saint-Lawrence, and behind Saint-Jean Port-Joli on the east. Behind Saint-Jean Port-Joli they compose the westernmost skirt of a country of white mountains, of which the White Mountains, so called, are on the easternmost skirt, and are the most southerly, and perhaps the most elevated. Those in Baie Saint-Paul, of which the elevation is comparatively low, afforded me the spectacle in as complete a form as the others, and at the same time an easy solution of the mystery.

The summits of these latter mountains, no more than the summits of the White Mountains, are composed of any substance of which the ordinary appearance is white. I had occasion, one afternoon, to pass over some of the very summits, which, in the morning, I had beheld white. Those summits I found composed of a bare rock, of which the colour was in some parts of a light gray, and in others of a ferruginous red, or a colour generally tawney; and it is this rock, which, when seen from a distance, and when irradiated by the sun, presents a white appearance.

The specimens which I collected on the White Mountains, and those which I collected in Baie Saint-Paul, perfectly agree with each other, and, except for their ferruginous stains, several of them approach, even when viewed in the hand, very nearly to a white colour; but, in truth, the colour of the rock composing the summit of the mountain is of minor importance to its whiteness. The principal requisite is that it should be bare, and of a dense substance, fitted to reflect the rays of light. All mountains, of which the summits are bare, and of which the substance, composing the summits, whatever is its colour, is capable of reflecting light, will be found to be white mountains; but, where there are vegetables, the rays are not reflected, but absorbed.

With respect to the particular points of view at which such substance will appear white, and those at which it will not, something is perhaps to be referred to the laws of optics, but much also to the question, whether the point of view does or does not command that portion of the summit which is bare of vegetation, and which is alone the portion by which the white appearance is produced. In all cases, the loftiest portion of the summit of a mountain, and that which is therefore the most certainly bare of vegetation, will be visible only at the greatest distance; and, sometimes, at that greatest distance, only upon the highest

ground. I have myself observed the white summits of some of the mountains west of Lake Champlain; but it was from high lands that I observed them, like those on which I first heard them mentioned; and I do not recollect to have observed them from the opposite shores of the lake.

What is true of the superior whiteness of naked summits, as seen when without snow, is true also when the snow covers them, though from a cause essentially different. When a mountain, covered over its whole surface with snow, presents to the eye a summit of one uninterrupted field of white, we may be assured that that summit is bare rock. Where there are woods, even of low stature, the snow falls between them to their feet, and their tops compose a surface that is never perfectly overspread with snow.

Two further remarks, as to the summer whiteness of the White Mountains, appear to be alone demanded. The first, that when it is said, their whiteness is constant through the year, it is by no means intended to say, that it is constant through all days in the week, and all hours in the day. A density in the atmosphere will necessarily give to all mountains a blue appearance, and clouds and mists will even intercept the light reflected from snow. In winter, when the White Mountains are visible at all,

they must, from the nature of the substance by which they are covered, present a white appearance; but, in summer, the rock which composes the summits will vary its colour, according to the intensity of the light that is thrown on it, and the rarity of the medium through which it is viewed. It is enough, that under favourable circumstances, the white appearance continues through all seasons of the year. As to the rest, the summits, it is to be acknowledged, are not, as they were once believed to be, composed of molten silver, nor indeed of any substance of extraordinary value or beauty.

The mountains are composed principally of granite; not that white granite of which I have recently spoken, but the red, such as is found in Massachusetts Bay. Of this species of rock, enormous masses, covered only with a few straggling trees, which insinuate their roots into the fissures, are seen in all the lower parts of the mountains. At mid-height, or at least the height of the Beaver Meadow, there are red, brown and gray granites. The mountains appear to be rich in iron ores.

Those who ascend to the highest summit, called Mount Washington, and which is not to be done without lodging one night on the mountains, are rewarded, if the state of the atmosphere is favourable, with a prospect, which, from the descriptions given of it, cannot

but be magnificent. To the south-east, the eye after passing over the intervening country, with its forests and rivers, has a horizon bounded only by the Atlantic Ocean, distant, in a direct line, sixty-five miles. On the south, Lake Winnipisiokee, distant not more than twenty miles, and diversified with bays, woods, islands, and the streams which flow into it and from it, and a country terminating in the southernmost mountains of New Hampshire, must compose, as it would seem, a still more interesting landscape than the former. On the west and north, the view is bounded only by the Green Mountains, and therefore, comprehends the Connecticut and its tributary streams, and the meadows by which they are bordered. On the north, is a flat country, adorned with the heads of the Amariscoggan. These landscapes, however, are not to be enjoyed but through the aid of the most extraordinary good fortune. It rarely happens that the visitor is not called upon to survey, in their stead, the wonders of the aërial world; to hear the thunders roll, and see the lightnings flash beneath his feet; and to abide unsheltered the descent of heavy and continued rains.

But, the weather supposed favourable, it will require the lapse of another century, to give to the prospects all the beauty which they are capable of displaying; and before the arrival of

that period also, the mountains will be ascended with greater ease than now. Captain Rosebrook entertains thoughts of opening the woods on the ridge, which forms the road to the summit; a work which would save the visitor both fatigue and loss of time. It is population, too, and agriculture, that must give to such prospects the beauty and diversity expected from them; for, not only pastures, fields, and villages should enliven the expanse of wood, but the forest, while it remains, must necessarily conceal, under its own uniform and sombrous green, many pleasing variations of the surface, and, what is of chief importance, the courses of streams, and many bodies of water, which, being laid open and reflecting the light and colours of the skies, would brighten and exhilarate the scene.

The base of the White Mountains is computed to cover an area of sixty miles in circumference. A still wider circumference, as it is said, of not less than a hundred miles, must be travelled over to encompass this base; and, in the journey, eight large rivers, which descend from them, must be forded.

## CHAPTER LXXVII.

*New Hampshire—Bethlehem—Bath—Haverhill—Dartmouth College.*

THE Amonoosuc pursues a south-west course to the Connecticut, which it enters below the Fifteen-mile Falls. From Briton's Woods, its banks, for twelve miles, are a solitude, overgrown with pines, spruce-firs and larches, and discovering the hand of man only in the formation of an indifferent road, and in a saw-mill and bridge. Having crossed the bridge, I gained, by a long-continued ascent, the top of Bethlehem Mountain, so called as being within the town of Bethlehem, the first town to the westward of the mountains. After emerging from the forest, I found myself on a road carried in a straight line over a succession of lofty hills, and lined, at intervals, with small houses, chiefly of logs. Below Bethlehem is Lyttleton, a town which, like New Concord and Bath, the next in succes-

sion, is watered both by the Amonoosuc and the Connecticut. Its length, on the latter, is from thirteen to fourteen miles; but its breadth is only three or four. It was, till the year 1784, a part of the town of Apthorpe. In this town, at the bridge that is laid over the Amonoosuc, there are falls in the river, on which are established flower and other mills. A *store* is established here, but no inn; and night overtaking me, I was obliged to seek lodgings at a private house. The road from Lyttleton to Bath is embellished with luxuriant meadows; but the dwellings and appearance of many of the inhabitants betray poverty. In Bath, on the Amonoosuc, on falls more considerable than that in Lyttleton, are iron-works, the ore wrought at which is bog-ore, obtained in the neighbouring town of Franconia. Two villages, at the distance of two miles from each other, but both on the Amonoosuc, are growing up in Bath. In the lower village is a church or meeting-house, the first to the westward of Conway. The clergyman settled here is a native of Scotland, and enjoys a high share of the esteem of his neighbours. On the thanksgiving-day, an annual festival in New Hampshire, as well as in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and which occurred about this time, there were five weddings in this

parish, the thanksgiving-day being, in this respect, what Easter Sunday is in Europe.

The Amonoosuc joins the Connecticut at the foot of a hill or lofty promontory, to the east of which is one of the principal mountains in New Hampshire, called Moose Hillock, on which, from the opposite side of the Connecticut, snow is said to have been seen as late as the thirtieth day of June, and as early as the thirty-first day of August. Though it appears difficult to understand, unless as comparing it with the White Mountains, why this majestic mountain should have been called a *hillock*, still it may be the most probable interpretation of the name, that it was originally known as a hill or hillock inhabited by the moose-deer or elk; but some, by spelling it Moosheeloc, give a different turn to the name. In the vicinity of this mountain, I met with persons who asserted that it is called Moose Hillock, not as abounding in moose-deer, but as being a great mountain; the Indians, according to them, regarding it as great among mountains, as the moose-deer is great among beasts, and hence using the term in a figurative sense.—I confess myself disposed to regard the name as wholly English, and not Indian, and as being most properly written Moose Hillock; but, if it can be shown that *Moosheeloc* is the more proper orthography, then the word must be wholly

Indian, and may have a signification different from all the foregoing.

Moose Hillock towers over the Connecticut below the Fifteen-mile Falls, by which latter all further navigation of the river is precluded. Above and below the Fifteen-mile Falls, on the Connecticut, are tracts of country, called respectively the Upper and the Lower *Coos* or *Cohoss;* which term implies, according to some, a fall in a river; according to others, a bend in a river; and, according to a third party, a parcel of meadow-land: but the true interpretation is *pine-land*, the word being derived from the Indian *cohâ* or *coâ*, a pine-tree. Some Indians, of this part of the Connecticut, still remain at Saint-Français, where they call themselves *Cohâssiac.* —Such is the origin of the name *cohass*, *cohoss* or *coos;* but, the pine-trees having been removed, their place is occupied by meadow; while, at the same time, the lands lie on bends of the river, and are contiguous to the Fifteen-mile Falls: —hence, the diverse explanations.

The Cohosses or Cohasses, as we now see them, are therefore really tracts of meadow land, belonging to what are called the intervals of the Connecticut. But, even the term *interval*, though originating with the colonists themselves, has almost ceased to be understood by writers

in the United States, and even in New England itself. They are at one time perplexed as to its etymology, and at another as to its application.

One of them, translating Mr. Volney's work on the soil and climate of the United States, is careful to present the word *interval* under a peculiar form:—"The *inter-vales* "and banks of rivers;"* a refinement of which the intention appears to be, that of refreshing the reader's memory as to a supposed derivation of the word from *inter* and *vallis*, meaning a space *between valleys*. This etymology I have heard assigned by word of mouth, and it appears to be adopted in the passage cited, because, had the writer supposed the word to come from *inter* and *vallum*, he would certainly have left it *interval*, in the ordinary form. Meanwhile, a moment's reflection will suggest, that a space *between valleys* must necessarily be filled only with mountains.

Again: as to the signification of the term, we find it confounded with the term meadow:—"The lands west of the last men-"tioned range of mountains," says a native

* A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America, &c. By C. F. Volney. Translated, with Occasional Remarks. By C. B. Brown. Philadelphia, 1804.

geographer, " bordering on Connecticut River, " are interspersed with extensive *meadows or in-* " *tervals*, rich and well watered."*

But, if the word *interval* were synonymous with *meadow*, it ought upon no occasion to be employed; and it is only because it is not synonymous that is useful, and deserves to be retained. The elder colonists resorted to it on account of the peculiar disposition of a very great proportion of the surface, over all the country which they colonized.

The *interval*, intended in New England geography, is the *interval* or *space between a river and the mountains* which on both sides uniformly accompany its course, at a greater or less distance from the margin. Hence, *interval-lands* include meadow and uplands, and in general the whole of the narrow valley, through which, in these regions, the rivers flow. Where rivers flow through extensive plains; where, in short, the eye is not constantly tempted to measure the distance between the river and the adjacent mountains, there is no mention of *interval-lands*. Among the interval-lands are to be reckoned the *swales*, or rich hollows, lying behind the uplands, by which latter they are separated from the meadows. These hollows are on levels greatly

* American Universal Geography.

raised above the meadows, and have not been visited by the floods for ages, but are composed of bog-earth, formed by the long growth and repeated decay of timber, together with their aptness for collecting and detaining water on their surface.

The country which I had now entered is that of the Lower Cohoss or Cohass, and is contained within the county of Grafton, till lately the uppermost county of New Hampshire, extending northward to the frontier of Lower Canada. At present, the upper country, including the Upper Cohoss, is erected into a separate county, called Coos (Coös.)* In Grafton, there are two county-towns, Haverhill and Plymouth, of which, in 1800, the latter contained only seven

* The explanation of the word *cohoss*, which is here applied to two tracts of country on the Connecticut, is not to be extended to the word *cohoes* or *cohoez*, a name given to a cataract on the Mohawk River, in the ancient country of the Six Nations or Iroquois. *Cohoes* has been supposed to be formed of sounds imitating the noise of falling water; but the name really belongs to the basin at the foot of the cataract, considered simply as a *receptacle*. It implies, in the Mohawk dialect of the Iroquois, a place to which canoes, or any thing floated away by the stream, will be carried, and where therefore it is reasonable to look for them. *Cohoss* and *cohoes* are therefore words belonging to two different languages.

hundred and fifty inhabitants, and the former eight hundred. At the same date, the number, within the county, was something more than twenty-three thousand; and the entire population of the state amounted to nearly one hundred and eighty-four thousand.

Below Haverhill are the towns of Piermont, Oxford, Lyme and Hanover, in the last of which is Dartmouth College, the university of the state of New Hampshire. There are now on the books of the college the names of more than a hundred and fifty students; and, at the commencement in this year, degrees were conferred on forty-two. The college buildings, upon the usual but very injudicious plan which admits of lodging more than one student in one chamber, are prepared for the accommodation of about a hundred and sixty. The officers of the college are a president, two tutors and five professors; the professorships being, 1. Of civil and ecclesiastical history; 2. Of languages; 3. Of chemistry and medicine; 4. Of mathematics and natural philosophy; and, 5. Phillips's professorship of theology. The students pay twenty dollars per annum for instruction, and twelve dollars for the use of half a room; and their board costs one dollar and a half per week. From the list of students, it appears, that the

whole number is derived from the several parts of New England, a single individual excepted, who is from Saint-Français in Lower Canada, and is of Indian extraction. There is also no student from Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

In the college library, there are about three thousand volumes, of which some, however, are publications of the day, as the life of Lord Nelson and Edgeworth's Practical Education, the latter, a book for the closet of the tutor, rather than that of the pupil. There are two other libraries, severally the property of two societies, to one or the other of which all the students belong, and of which the names are the United Fraternity and the Social Friends. In each of these libraries there are five hundred volumes.

Attached to the college, there are also a museum and laboratory. In the museum, among other small collections, is one of specimens in mineralogy and geology, presented by —— Forsyth, Esquire, and another, not numerous, but otherwise estimable, by Mr. Noyes, one of the officers of the college. In the same collection are t h o rns of a red deer, (*cervus elephas*,) called, according to an error constantly persisted in by the English colonists in all parts of North America, an *elk's horns*. These were brought

from the west of the Allegheny Mountains, and measure four feet in perpendicular height, and three from tip to tip, and weigh twenty-four pounds. The laboratory is used, not only for its express objects, but also as an anatomical theatre and lecture room.

Separate from the college, as to its funds and objects, but under the direction of the same president and trustees, is an elementary institution, called Moore's Indian Charity School. The school, as its name may indicate, is, at least in its first design, a school for Indian children; but, this object having failed, it is now almost exclusively devoted to the instruction of the children of the neighbouring inhabitants. It differs, therefore, in nothing from the other grammar-schools, called *academies*, which are established in different parts of the country. Latin and the mathematics are taught, and the number of scholars is at present thirty-eight; but this number includes all the children of the village, girls and boys, there being no other school in the district.

Of the first design, that of affording schooling to Indian children, no trace remains, except in the application of the annual sum of four hundred dollars, the produce of a fund held in trust by the Scotch Missionary Society, and which would be forfeited if applied to any

other purpose. On this fund, three Indian children are maintained and taught; and of the three at present at the school, at least two are from Saint-Français.

Both the school and the college owe their foundation to the philanthropy, piety and enterprise of the late Reverend Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, a native of Connecticut, and by whom the school, the birth of which preceded that of the college, was first established at Lebanon, in that colony. The school received its name from that of a principal benefactor; and the college, for which the royal charter was obtained in the year 1769, is called Dartmouth College, in honour of William earl of Dartmouth, a benefactor and patron. The Honourable Dr. John Wheelock, son of the founder, is the actual president.

Dartmouth College has a rising reputation, as a school of medicine, for which it is indebted to the talents of Dr. Smith, its present medical professor. For its advancement, pecuniary assistance is necessary, and this has been applied for to the legislature of New Hampshire. If granted, much benefit may be expected to result.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII.

*Vermont—New Hampshire—Hartford—Windsor—Great Falls.*

THE river Connecticut forms the western boundary of New Hampshire. Beyond it is the territory of Vermont; but the entire jurisdiction of the stream, from its departure from Lower Canada, to its entrance into Massachusetts, belongs to New Hampshire, Vermont having no claim eastward, further than to the water's edge. Below Hanover, the road is carried alternately on the one side and the other, that is, in New Hampshire and Vermont.

Between Lebanon, the town below Hanover, and Hartford, the opposite town in Vermont, is a bridge of two arches. Hartford lies on the banks of White River, at its confluence with the Connecticut. In the latter river, immediately above the mouth of White River, are a short series of inconsiderable falls, called Agar's Falls or White River Falls. Here the Connecticut makes a descent over three principal ledges,

of rock, on the middle one of which the bridge is constructed. Agar's Falls are said to be between fifty and sixty miles below the foot of the Fifteen-mile Falls.

Over this bridge, which lies four miles and a half below Dartmouth College, I passed, for the first time, into the territory of Vermont. In Hartford, at the foot of the bridge, is a growing village, composed at present of half a dozen country-shops, together with other houses. White River, on the right bank of which the village is situated, discloses itself at this spot from amid the bosom of mountains. At one of the public-houses or taverns, a number of young men were assembled, in consequence of a written advertisement, offering them the diversion of *shooting at twenty tirkies*. On these occasions, the *taverner* fastens one turkey after another to a post, and those who shoot at it, take aim at a given distance. The shooters pay four pence halfpenny currency, or the sixteenth part of a dollar for each shot, and half a dollar, or the price of eight shots, is the ordinary price of a turkey. The bird sometimes falls at the first shot, but sometimes sustains no less than thirty-six; and, on an average, is hit one time in eight. When this happens, the *taverner* is but paid the ordinary price for his tur-

key; but his expectation of profit is formed chiefly upon the sale of liquor.

At the head of the village, there is a bridge, carried over White River, from the opposite extremity of which the road immediately begins to ascend a steep and lofty mountain, by which the valley of White River is separated from that of the Waterquechie. On the summit, the road runs for some miles through a country from which the forest is gradually disappearing, and then commences a long and steep descent, at the foot of which is the river last named.

The snow, which I left at the feet of the White Mountains, had gradually disappeared as I approached the Connecticut, and there was little or none in that part of the country which I had now gained; but, ice was nevertheless a conspicuous feature, in the picture which here presented itself, formed by a cataract on the Waterquechie. In this picture, all is romantic, the dam and mills upon the cataract excepted. The descent, performed through the forest, on the declivity of the mountain; the water (like the water of several other rivers) of a green colour, and which now fell over large icicles, formed about the dam; the bridge, below the falls; the dark and primitive forest, skirting the feet of lofty mountains, and from which the river emerges by a winding course, and the contrast of the banks of the

Connecticut, here open, and comparatively low; all contributed their share, in forming an assembly of more than ordinary interest.

In reaching the cataract on the Waterquechie, I had left, however, the limits of Hartford, and entered those of Hartland. On the point south of the mouth of the Waterquechie, and contiguous to a scattered village of small houses, is a church belonging to the church of England. At two miles below the point, are what are called the Waterquechie Falls, at which the Connecticut passes over some further ledges of rock. From the loftier parts of the road, a mountain, called Ascutney and Asacutney, situate on the same bank of the river, begins to discover itself, in a magnificent manner. This mountain, of which as I am informed, the true name is *Cascadnac*, that is, *a peaked mountain with steep sides*, is seated in the towns of Windsor and Wethersfield, below.

Windsor, the county-town of a county of the same name, contains a handsome and busy village, in which a newspaper is printed, and where the trade of the county is in great measure carried on. The houses, of which several are built in a tasteful manner, may be about a hundred and fifty in number. They are generally of wood; but, in two or three instances, of red brick. Windsor, till the present year, has

been the occasional place of meeting for the legislature; but this is now fixed at Montpellier, in the upper part of the state, and on the west side of the Green Mountains. Wethersfield has a village, scattered along the mountainous banks of the river, which here, and particularly at the foot of the mountain called Ascutney or Cascadnac, flows immediately beneath its lofty banks, leaving no *interval* whatever. The height of the last mentioned mountain has been determined to be two thousand and thirty-one feet above the level of the sea, and one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two feet above that of the surface of the Connecticut, at its greatest height. This measurement, therefore, supposes the greatest height of the Connecticut to be here two hundred and ninety-nine feet above the level of the sea. Opposite the mountain, Sugar River enters the Connecticut.

At about thirty miles below Waterquechie Falls, are the Great Falls, called also Bellows's Falls, and Walpole Falls. The road leads through Springfield, in Vermont, as low as the mouth of Black River, and there crosses a bridge, called Cheshire bridge, into Charleston, in New Hampshire. Below Charleston is Walpole.

From Haverhill to Charleston, the river, for the most part, washes the feet of high, and even lofty and precipitous banks, of clay or sand, or

the rocky sides of mountains; and mountains, on either hand, shut in the horizon. Below Black River, the country opens for a short space, affording to Charleston large tracts of meadow land, and a landscape of extraordinary beauty; but, the village in Charleston being passed, the banks of the river become again lofty, and the mountains again converge, and soon offer to the eye only an impenetrable barrier, by which all the country to the southward is concealed. It is through a narrow defile of these mountains, that the river obtains a passage, by leaping from a wall of granite.

The Great Falls, great as to depth, in comparison with the other falls on the Connecticut, contain little, either in volume or beauty, for the gratification of a visitor that has previously seen the falls on the Kennebec and Amariscoggan, or even on the Housatonic. The water descends from space to space, through a course of half a mile; and yet the level of the river, at the foot of the descent, is only forty-five feet below its level on the top. The depth of the Falls is from fifteen to twenty-five feet, according to the quantity of water in the river; the fall being deepest when the river is least full. A mass of rock divides the channel of the river, at the Falls, into two portions, of ninety feet each; and the whole breadth of the channel, including the

rock, probably exceeds two hundred feet. A bridge, supported in the centre, by the rock, is laid over the cataract.

The entire basin of the cataract is of coarse granite, fractured into large masses. On the smooth and inclined face of one of these masses, situate on the south side of the bridge, and on the west side of the river, are the sculptures of the existence of which I have apprized the reader, in a previous part of this work.*

These sculptures, as on that occasion intimated, have a comparative insignificance, when placed beside the Writing Rock on Taunton River. They consist in outlines of a variety of heads, some of which are human, and some belonging to animals. Unlike the sculptures of the Writing Rock, they are parts of no connected work, but are scattered over the face of the rock, in the most even and eligible places.

It is to these sculptures, then, that I appeal, as to conclusive evidence of the Indian origin of the Writing Rock. They are too rude, too insignificant, and too evidently without depth of meaning, to be attributed to Phœnicians or Carthaginians. No person will carry European vanity so far, as to contend, that there is any thing, here, above the

* See Chapter liii.

level of the Indian genius. But, if Indians were the authors of these sculptures, then Indians were the authors of the Writing Rock also. The style of drawing is the same; the style of sculpture is the same; and it is for this reason that I add nothing now, to what I have already advanced, in regard to these particulars. All that requires any special notice is this, that the rock at the Great Falls, which is of an exceedingly coarse granite, must have been wrought with still more difficulty than the rock on Taunton River.

From these sculptures it appears, that of whatever material they might be made, whether of stone or otherwise, the ancient Indians had instruments with which they were able to cut even granite; and, consequently, that to complete the history of North America, there is nothing, in the Writing Rock, which compels us to seek for its occupation, however temporary, by any other race of men than the single one, consisting in the known aborigines of the country.

But, though I have called the sculptures at the Great Falls conclusive testimony, I have yet behind some new and satisfactory proofs. These sculptures, so obviously the work of idle hours, and for the accomplishment of which the rudest artist, once provided with a tool, must be

allowed to be competent, supply us with the fact, that the Indians were able to sculpture rocks, and that when they did sculpture them, the sculpture resembled the sculpture of the Writing Rock. This established, I shall add a copy of a known Indian design, not sculptured upon a rock, but carved upon a tree, and in the drawing of which will be found a more striking similitude to the drawing exhibited in the Writing Rock. I shall also presently be enabled to show, in a still further example, the disposition of the ancient Indians to indulge their fancy, if not their love of history, in sculptures of this kind.

After leaving the Great Falls, and descending the banks of the Connecticut to Brattleborough, I was informed, that in the town of Wethersfield there still existed, on the trunk of a pine-tree, some Indian carvings, wrought upon an occasion familiar to the history of the colonists.

In the year 1704, an Indian party, from Saint-Français, made an incursion into Massachusetts, and took, among others, a female prisoner from Deerfield. It is an observation, made by all historians of the Indian wars, and which serves to illustrate the contrast of feature in the Indian manners, that though the prisoners of the Indians often underwent the harshest, and sometimes the most barbarous treatment, yet no

woman ever experienced from an Indian warrior any violation of her person, or even of the decorum due to her sex; and the history of the female prisoner in question is a corroboration of the fact. She was a married woman, whom they had dragged from her husband and family; and on the road, she suffered, as usual, from the rapidity with which the Indians habitually move. She was pregnant; and, at the brook in what is now Wethersfield, she was taken in labour, and delivered of a child. She was afterward carried forward into Canada; but, she lived to be restored to her friends, and to bear testimony to the mingled care and delicacy with which her captors had treated her in her extremity. Thus far the English history; but, the Indians did not leave the place, without carving, upon a neighbouring tree, such figures, as, with them, might serve for a memorial of the remarkable event which had occurred.—Where to look for the tree I received some instruction, by the aid of which I was not long in finding it.

The trunk of the tree is carved on four sides, a little below the depth of the bark. That the figures thus carved, upon so alterable as well as perishable a material, and now a century old, should be discoverable at all, will be an occasion of more surprise to the reader, than that they should be obscure,

and in some parts discoverable but faintly. On three sides of the tree there is one figure each, but on the fourth there are two. Of the figures on two of the sides, I could not trace enough to satisfy my mind, whether they were intended for man, woman or child; but, of those on the other two, I I think it sufficiently discernible, that one of them is intended for a woman, and another for a child. The child I suppose to be characterized by the largeness of the head, and the woman by the breadth of the shoulders, or rather of the bosom, and the smallness of the waist. I am at present in possession only of my sketch of the woman, and of part of a figure, which appears to have been carved, or at least to have been begun to be carved, above her head.

This sketch, rude as it represents the original to be, will yet be eminently useful in enabling us to decide, whether or not we ought to believe the sculptures on the rocks, and particularly on the Writing Rock, to be of Indian workmanship. The origin of the carving from which it is copied is known, and the work is known to be Indian. Now, if we compare the drawing discovered in this carving, with that discovered on the rocks, we shall find them to be one and the same.

In more than one of the heads sculptured at the Great Falls, we see an exact similitude to

the heads sculptured on the Writing Rock, and particularly in the circumstances, that a single dot or hollow is made to serve both for nose and mouth; that no ears are given to the human heads; and that the crowns of the heads are bare. In the carving on the tree, we find, indeed, separate marks for the mouth and nose; but, in the shape of the head, and in the two other particulars mentioned, an entire agreement.

Descending, next, to the bust or shoulders, this agreement is still more remarkable, as subsisting between the carving on the tree and the sculpture on the Writing Rock. In both instances, there is an omission of the arms; and, in both instances, the bust, bosom, or rather the entire trunk or *torso*, is represented by the figure of an inverted cone, the base serving for the shoulders, and the apex for the waist.

It is plain, that in both instances, the figure thus delineated is intended for a woman; but, by some critics, it will perhaps be objected, that to give to the figure of a woman a remarkable breadth of shoulders, is to assign as the characteristic of the one sex, what nature has assigned as the characteristic of the other. It is to be replied, that this breadth is intended to characterize the bosom, and not the shoulders, and that it is therefore an expressive configuration.

Thus, we ascertain, first, that in the sculptures observed upon the Writing Rock, there is the strictest similitude, in workmanship and drawing, to those observed upon the rocks at the Great Falls; and, secondly, that the same similitude is to be observed in figures known to have been carved by Indians upon trees; and, thus, all questions are answered, except those that regard the nature of the tool by the edge of which the rocks have been wrought upon, and the occasions upon which the figures have been wrought.

With respect to the nature of the tool, every difficulty would be dismissed, by supposing that the sculptures were not wrought till after the introduction of iron by the Europeans; but, there appears to be good reason for thinking them more ancient, and we shall, therefore, in all probability, be compelled to believe, that the tool was of no better material than stone. Copper was indeed known, if not among the Indians of New England, at least among the nations in their vicinity, long before the coming of the Europeans; but, copper, without some alloy, is of too soft a substance for the purpose required; and I shall not attempt, for the support of a theory, to introduce, into this part of North America, that compound metal, said, by Garcillasso de la Vega, to have been anciently manufactured in Peru, and which, having cop-

per for its basis, was yet hard and dense, the latter to such a degree as to be insusceptible of tarnish.

One only question remains, upon which I shall venture to hazard any remark; and this respects the occasions upon which rocks have been sculptured by the Indians.

In the first place, it is matter of notoriety, that the Indians have always pursued the practice of representing, by delineation, carving, and, as we are now entitled to add, by sculpture, those objects and those events, concerning which they either wished to make some instant communication, or to preserve some durable monument. Of the former, we have instances out of number; and, of the latter, our carving on the pine-tree in Wethersfield is a well-authenticated example.

In the second place, there can be little reason to doubt, that they sometimes exercised their skill, in all the arts now mentioned, for the mere purposes of pastime; and, in this view, it appears unnecessary to admit the doctrine, advanced by some persons in the neighbourhood of the Great Falls, in regard to the sculptures there displayed; namely, that the heads wrought upon the rocks are the heads of men, women, children and animals, that have been drowned in the cataract--the Indians being used to commemo-

rate by sculptures particular catastrophes of this kind. We may object to this, first, that there is no reason to believe in the occurrence of so many fatal accidents at this spot, as the number of heads must in such case attest; secondly, that the sculptures on these rocks are disposed with no solemnity or order, but are scattered in the most careless manner; and, thirdly, that it is highly probable that they were the work of idle hours, spent among these rocks, at a place so favourable for fishing as the foot of a cataract, and therefore so much a place of resort. I shall presently produce a further, but truly insignificant specimen of Indian sculpture, of the occasion of the production of which, the history must be of the kind here mentioned.

In this view, the sculptured rocks at the Great Falls will be a monument only of this, the ancient existence of a neighbouring population, and the ancient fisheries pursued here; while the Writing Rock, also found in a situation favourable for fishing, will be regarded, from the variety which it contains, and the apparent combination and relation of parts which it betrays, as an elaborate monument of some transaction of which no other trace remains, to elucidate this imperfect iconography.

Nor let it be supposed that this imperfection, this incapacity in the sculptures to convey the particulars of the transaction to which they refer, is evidence, either of a want of foundation for the opinion here expressed, or even of a peculiar deficiency in the speaking powers of the barbarian sculptures under our view. It is to be remembered, that this imperfection applies itself to all historical representations, sculptures and others. A sculpture, representing the Death of Hercules, or the Judgment of Paris, would be unintelligible, as to its historical part, if we were not previously acquainted with the action which it is intended to describe. The reality, therefore, of the monumental character of the Writing Rock is not brought into doubt, even by what I have myself repeatedly had occasion to experience, in regard to the delineation of that rock, presented in this work to the reader—that Indians themselves, even of the same language and country as those by whom it was probably executed, are unable to offer any explanation of its meaning. From such Indians, I have in some instances obtained conjectures as to particular parts, but never any satisfatctory glimpse of the whole.

" I know of no such thing existing," says the author of the Notes on Virginia, " as an In-
" dian monument ; for I would not honour with

" that name arrow-points, stone hatchets, stone " pipes and half-shapen images."*—There are, however, more numerous, and more interesting monuments, of the Indians and their ancient arts, than these expressions might lead us to suppose; and we are at least called upon to apply the name of Indian monuments to these sculptured rocks, monuments of the generations by which they were wrought, and monuments, at once of their skill, and of their deficiencies, in the arts which they display. Recurring once again to this subject, in the chapter immediately succeeding, I shall there offer a catalogue of all the sculptured rocks in North America, of which I have hitherto traced any account. In concluding the present, I presume earnestly to recommend it to the friends of polite learning, and particularly to the cultivators of American history, in Boston, to procure, and remove into that metropolis, the whole, or if practicable only the face, of the Writing Rock. If this is not done, the rock will before long be broken to pieces, to make room for, or to help build a wharf; or to discover the gold which is still supposed to be hidden around it, or beneath it.

* Notes on the State of Virginia. By Thomas Jefferson. 1787.

## CHAPTER LXXIX.

*Vermont—Rockingham—Brattleborough.*

IN Vermont, on the west side of the Great Falls, is Rockingham, a town of seventeen hundred inhabitants,* and watered by the Connecticut, and by two inferior streams, called Williams's River, and Sexton River. On the west side of the town, which includes, in the whole, a surface of forty-two square miles, there is a parish, with a settled clergyman; but on the east, or side lying on the Connecticut, there is none. A village, however, is forming at the Falls, supported, in part, by a canal, by means of which the cataract is passed, and in part by the numerous works, erected and erecting, of which the machinery is turned by water. A former proprietor of the soil was a Mr. Bellows, from whom the Falls were long called Bellows's Falls; but it is now in the possession of Mr. Atkinson, of New York, and this gentleman has at work upon them a flower and gypsum-mill, a paper-mill, a shingle-making machine, a carding-machine, and a trip-hammer shop, and is about to

* In 1790, Rockingham contained 1,235 inhabitants; in 1800, 1684.

add a spinning machinery and a fulling-mill. The paper-mill has two vats. The wages of the several workmen amount to about a dollar a day; and the girls, employed in part of the manufacture, receive twelve cents and a half per day, beside board and lodging. The shingle-making machine is a patent invention, boasted to be capable of making thirty-three shingles in a minute: a much inferior result would render it very valuable; but it has the defect of being easily put out of order. In addition to the establishments already mentioned, Mr. Atkinson has a *store*, for the sale of foreign goods, and purchase of domestic produce. The village does not yet contain two hundred souls. A schoolmaster is employed for three months in the year, at the stipend of fifteen dollars per month.

The boats, boxes and tonnage which have passed through the canal at the Great Falls in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 and 1807, appear to be, in each year, as follows:

| *Years.* | *Boats.* | *Boxes.* | *Tonnage.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1803 | 205 | 343 | 4,302 8-10 |
| 1804 | 157 | 221 | 3,197 8-10 |
| 1805 | 201 | 452 | 4,112 2-10 |
| 1806 | 294 | 226 | 4,767 |
| 1807 | 311 | 289 | 5,459 |

The goods, which ascend the river, are liquors, salt, sugars, dry-goods, crockery and tea; and those which descend, consist in grain, pot and pearl-ash, beef, oil, flax-seed and lumber, the last including round-logs, timber, clap-boards, staves and heading. Rafts, composed of boards and other lumber, are called *boxes*. The above table exhibits the amount of so much of the commerce of the upper Connecticut as does not pass by land-carriage, between the river and the sea-ports of Portland and Boston.

Below Rockingham, on the east bank of the Connecticut, are the towns of Putney, Westminster, Dummerston and Brattleborough, forming a line of about thirty miles, covering a surface of a hundred and fifty square miles, and peopled, in the year 1800, with six thousand two hundred souls, or forty-one souls to each square mile. All these towns are watered, not only by the Connecticut, but by streams which fall into that river, and particularly Dummerston and Brattleborough, both of which are intersected by West River.

West River, called by the Indians Wantastiquoke, or Wanastiquoke,* is one of the most

* I infer this, from the name *Wantastiquek*, recorded in Dr. Williams's History of Vermont. Walpole, 1794, p. 32. In Deane's Alphabetical Atlas, the name is spelt *Wantastiquet*.

considerable streams on the east side of the Green Mountains; and at its confluence with the Connecticut, has a width of about fifteen rods, and a depth of ten or twelve feet. To control the navigation of this river, as well as that of the Connecticut, a fort, called Fort Dummer, was erected here, in 1723. The Connecticut is confined between the high land at the mouth of West River on the east, and the foot of West River Mountain, which is on the opposite side.

On West River, a little above its mouth, are a few Indian sculptures, the last that I shall have to introduce to the reader's notice: "A number of figures or inscriptions are yet to be "seen upon the rocks at the mouth of this ri-"ver, seeming to allude to the affairs of war "among the Indians; but their rudeness and "awkwardness denote, that the formers of "them were at a great remove from the know-"ledge of any alphabet."* By this account, written by a native topographer, and derived from a History of Vermont, my curiosity was long raised; but, upon visiting the rock intended to be referred to, I found only the most insignificant of all the Indian sculptures that I had met with. The historian, Dr. Williams, with

* American Gazetteer, article *West River.*

whom I had afterward the pleasure of conversing, and whose book discovers a spirit of inquiry, and contains many original views, informed me, that as to the sculptures on West River, he had rashly relied on the observation of other eyes than his own.

These sculptures comprise only five figures, of a diminutive size, and scratched, rather than sculptured, on the surface of a small mass of shistic rock, situate on the side of a cove, in a meadow, above the mouth of the river. Of the five figures, four represent birds, and one is either that of a dog or of a wolf. I was informed, that on a lower part of the rock adjacent, there was a sculptured snake, so exquisitely wrought, as to have terrified, by its resemblance to nature, an honest countryman of the neighbourhood. The water, however, was at this time low, and neither myself, nor the gentleman who did me the favour to accompany me, was able to discover any snake; and, on closer inquiry, no sort of foundation could be found, even for the story itself.

The West River rock affords us, therefore, nothing, or next to nothing, in any view save one; and this is, the example of a disposition in the Indians to sculpture rocks, and to sculpture them even for amusement. The cove, which, it may be believed, was anciently overrun with wild rice, (*zizania aquatica*,) has always

been a celebrated resort of wild ducks. It is at this day a favourite place for shooting them; and we may believe that the Indians were accustomed to spend many hours here, watching either for water-fowl or for fish.—Hence, the sculptures, both at the Great Falls and on West River, are to be attributed to the whim of vacant moments.

I shall now subjoin a list of Indian sculptures, such as I have either seen, and above described, or as I have found mentioned by writers:

1. On the Alatahama, called also the Oakmulgee, in Georgia.

2. On Cumberland River, near Rock Castle.

3. On the Ohio, at fifty miles below Pittsburg, and two miles below King's or Indian Creek.

4. At a spot within four miles of the confluence of the Kanawa and Elk.

5. On the Alleghany, fifteen miles below Venango, and seventy miles to the southward of Lake Erie. A rock, of which the substance is not very hard, is sculptured, on the side facing the river, with figures of various animals, and with lines and curves, of different forms. The lines, which compose them, are about the tenth of an inch deep, and a quarter of an inch broad.

6. On the Housatonic, at Scaticook.

7. On the Connecticut, on a pine-tree in Wethersfield.

8. On the same river, on rocks at the Great Falls.

9. On West River, on a rock on the bank of a cove, near its confluence with the Connecticut.

10. In Narragansett Bay, on Rhode Island, near Newport, on the lands of Mr. Job Almy.

11. In the same, on the lands of the late Colonel Almy, on the peninsula of Paucatuc, on the east side of the bay, and at six miles from the shore.

12. In the same, at Tiverton.

13. In the same, on Taunton River.

Of these, I have seen only the seventh, eighth, ninth, and thirteenth. Several of the foregoing are mentioned in the MSS of the late Dr. Styles. The third is mentioned in the Reverend Mr. Harris's Tour on the Ohio, published in Boston.*

* I have judged it inexpedient to take any notice of the sculptures and *hieroglyphics* described, in the work of a recent traveller, as existing in the western parts of the United States.

## CHAPTER LXXX.

*Massachusetts—Northampton—Worcester—Ethiopic Inscription.*

THOUGH, from Hanover to Brattleborough, and still further south, I found many unexpected things to reward my journey, yet its direct inducement was the curiosity I felt, first to behold the sculptures on West River, and next to pore upon an Ethiopic inscription, at Rutland, in Massachusetts, of which a particular account is given by a native antiquarian: "In Rutland," says the writer, "on the farm of Mr. W. "White, has lately been found a large stone, on "which is a line of considerable length, in cha- "racters which our correspondent supposes to "be Ethiopian. They are regularly placed, and "the strokes are filled with a black composi- "tion, nearly as hard as the stone."*

The mouth of West River is about twelve miles to the northward of the frontier of Massachusetts, on which the first town, on the west side of the Connecticut, is Bernardston.

* American Universal Geography. Boston, 1805.

Guildford, the intervening town in Vermont, affords a road only over high hills and rocks. Bernardston is a contrast to this landscape, its surface being generally a level, watered by Fall River. In 1800, Guildford contained two thousand two hundred and fifty-six inhabitants.

Below Bernardston is Greenfield, which contains a handsome village, of about a hundred houses of wood, a part of which surround a green that overlooks Green River. Green River is so named from the colour of its stream; and from Green River appears to have originated the name of Greenfield. This town reckons two hundred and fifty ratable polls, and has a church and settled clergyman, to which latter it gives a yearly salary of three hundred and eighteen dollars.—Among the inhabitants of Greenfield, I found a worthy fellow-countryman, in the person of Mr. Chapman; and a no less estimable native of New England in Dr. John Stone.

Green River falls into Deerfield River, as does the latter, shortly afterward, into the Connecticut. Deerfield River is the Pocomtic or Pocomtiquoke of the Indians, by which name it has some celebrity in the New England annals. Deerfield church is distant three miles from Greenfield Green. In this village, there is a

handsome building of red brick, called the Academy, and which is attended by about twenty scholars, of both sexes. But, the *academy* has no funds for its support; there is no other school in the district; and, as parents decline paying the extra charges of this, the children in general are not sent to school at all.

At eighteen miles from Deerfield is Northampton, the county-town, situate forty miles north of Hartford in Connecticut, and one hundred west of Boston. The county, of which the name is Hampshire, is the most populous in Massachusetts, containing, in the year 1800, seventy-two thousand four hundred and thirty-two souls.* Northampton, at the same time, contained two thousand one hundred and ninety.

In Northampton, there is a large and well built village, the seat of much trade, and surrounded by a fine agricultural country. The Connecticut, which we have so long accompanied along a narrow channel, walled in by mountains, and by clay banks of a hundred and fifty, and even two hundred feet in height, is here permitted to expand itself more freely, and has intervals, which, the two sides of the river being taken together, are six miles in width.—But,

* See Chapter lxxv.

the trade and agriculture of the country were at this time depressed by the same political causes to which I have already alluded. Pork, of which the ordinary market-price, in Northampton, is from ten to twelve cents per pound, could now fetch only from six to eight. The federalists, here, as elsewhere, murmured under this and similar losses, and the consequent embarrassments; but, their opponents supported, and even elevated their spirits, in anticipating the speedy subjugation of Great Britain. The less their pork sold for, the smaller quantity of pork did there appear to be wanted for exportation; and the less pork was exported, the sooner must Great Britain fall, beneath the combined efforts of France and the United States. When pork was afterward refused a market at five, and even three cents per pound, the affair was supposed to be accomplished:—*Delenda est Carthago.*

Northampton is much divided, both by politics and by religion. By many, it is described as in a peculiar degree the seat of puritan intolerance. I met with a series of resolutions, entered into by the persons composing the anti-federal part of the town, and printed in the county-newspaper, in which it is set forth, that the *federal priest*, meaning the settled clergyman, is in the habit of vilifying the complainants, to their

wives and children, in discourses delivered from the pulpit.

It happened, during my short stay in this vicinity, that I fell into a party, where a political conversation was maintained. The persons present were all federalists, with the exception of one, who held an office under the sovereign people, and who was therefore obliged to wear the exterior of a different way of thinking. When this gentleman left the room, our host accompanied him to the street-door, where we heard much laughter, previous to his final departure. Upon inquiring the occasion, it appeared, that the poor office-holder had been making himself merry, at the thought of the disagreement which existed, between his own secret opinions and his customary public speeches: "What has been said," observed he, "is sound "sense; but it is too d——d unpopular!"

This was only one of the many occasions upon which I have been led to see, that the demagogues of the United States are realizing all that we have heard of the hypocrisy and arts of priests and monks. Admitted into the refectory of the convent, the cowl is laid aside, and the poor sovereign people are only spoken of with the most sovereign contempt. In public, men talk to you of the wisdom and large information of the American people;—you wink at the imposture, and

restrain your laughter;—they thank you for the complaisance, and presently whisper in your ear—that *the people know no more than horses.* In Massachusetts, an established idol of the people, and one who had therefore talked much to the people of their wisdom and their virtue, made to myself, these serious assertions: That there is not a spark of public virtue in all the whole commonwealth, and that the members of the legislature assemble only for purposes of private gain; and he explained the latter position, by observing, that their votes upon public questions were commonly directed by private arrangements. Every one, said he, has some interest in a lottery, a bank, a bridge, a road or a canal, or depends upon others who have; and his care, therefore, is to serve, and to be served.

The river, which, above Charleston, is, in most places, only thirty rods in width, is at Northampton seventy. The banks, which, like the banks above, are of clay, are at present fifteen feet in height; but, as they are annually overflowed, their height is doubtlessly increasing. Opposite Northampton is Hadley, which I reached by aid of a ferry, established between the two towns.—Having mentioned the general reputation of Northampton for puritanism, it is proper to remark, in this place, that in company with two gentlemen of Massachusetts, I not only left

my inn, in the centre of the village, but crossed the ferry, on a Sunday, and during the hours of divine service, without the smallest hindrance; and I take the occasion that here presents itself, for remarking further, that whatever may be the strictness of the laws of New England, and however that strictness may sometimes be felt by natives and residents, in regard to the particular notions entertained in that country of the due observance of the sabbath, I never conformed myself to that strictness, and, at the same time, never was molested.

In Hadley, the road lies through a fertile champaign, in which, from several points, I counted the white spires of six churches, and in which there is no more wood than as much as ornaments the fields.

To my friend, Dr. Stone, whom I had met at Greenfield, and whose company I had now the pleasure of enjoying, I had imparted the object of my pilgrimage, namely, that of visiting the Ethiopic inscription in Rutland; but, neither he nor other competent persons, who I had by this time seen, could give me any account of the inscription. I pursued, nevertheless, my way, satisfied that I had only to reach the farm described, in order to convict the neighbourhood of a barbarous ignorance of its own ancient and most precious monuments.

Arrived at Rutland, which lies a little to the north-east of Northampton, and on the Height of Land which runs between the Connecticut and the Atlantic, I was so happy as to find that the best inn in the village stood almost opposite to the farm of which I was in search, and to which my steps were now speedily bent.

Presenting myself at the door of Mr. White, in order to beg for a sight of the Ethiopic inscription, my first misfortune was to learn that this gentleman was from home, and was expected to be so for some days. The chagrin, however, that belonged to this circumstance, was soon in great part removed, by the polite reception which I met with from the family, and the exemplary patience with which my story of the large stone, and long line of Ethiopic characters, and black composition, was heard by the young ladies and their brother. The latter was even so obliging as to accompany me to several rocks on the farm, and all the places where the monument in question was most likely to be found. It was all in vain; we discovered no Ethiopic characters; and all the return that I could make, for the attention that I experienced, was to repeat the terms in which the farm had been given to celebrity in print.

Returning to my inn, where I had previously made some inquiries upon the subject, I found

that the story had already excited no small attention. A gentleman, practising law in Rutland, and a boarder in the house, did me the favour, after dinner, to pay me a visit; and, from him, I learned, that a large company, in the bar-room,* was employed in discussing the merits of my errand. That a stranger should come into Rutland, and talk of an inscription, or a curious stone, of which the inhabitants had never heard a syllable, was already decided to be a circumstance, not merely extraordinary, but suspicious. In these countries, the frequency of fraud, with views of gain, occasions a constant apprehension of it: in particular, the endless list of banks offers the strongest temptation for the utterance of counterfeit bank-notes; and I know not whether my Ethiopic inscription was not conjectured to mean *Vermont bank-paper:* if not, it was at least supposed that I had dreamed of a money-chest, and that unless well watched, I should carry it out of the town. For myself, I had no defence to offer, but what consisted in positive assurances, that I had found the account in Dr. Morse's Geography, and that I could even recollect the side of the leaf, and the part of the page, on which it was printed.

* The *bar-room* of a public-house is what in England gland is called a *taft-room*.

My visitor, who took some interest in my justification, now mentioned, that he believed the book was in the house; and, going in search of it, he presently brought it. The book happened to be a copy of the edition of 1805, and was no sooner brought, than the paragraph was readily found; and this done, the same friendly hand carried it in triumph into the bar-room. On his return, he related, that the disputants were now amazed in a new direction, partly that a stranger should have known any thing of their town, which they did not know themselves, and partly that they should not have known what had been published from the press, concerning Rutland, to all the rest of the world.

This improvement in my situation was scarcely effected, before another discovered itself in my prospects. Mr. White, junior, made me a visit, and informed me, that his sisters had recollected having heard their father speak of finding an extraordinary stone; but they had never seen it, and they knew nothing of where it was, nor where it had ever been.

I was to go fourteen miles further on this road, and rest a night at Worcester, the county-town. In the interim, there was room for hope, from the inquiries which I was obligingly promised should be made.

The town of Worcester contains the sources of the Patucket, or Narragansett River, which

falls into Narragansett Bay, but which is here called Blackstone's River.* It comprehends a beautiful and valuable tract of grazing country, every where well watered, and diversified with eminences. Surrounding the village, the landscape is of the most cheerful aspect; and the village, in return, adorns the landscape. Many of the houses are handsomely built, the street is spacious, and the whole has a genteel appearance. The court-house, which is of red brick, was planned by the architect of the state-house in Boston, and, though upon a very reduced scale, has a general likeness to that edifice. A principal attraction, by which I had been led to Worcester, was the society of Mr. Francis Blake, a lawyer, of distinguished talents, in this county, and to whom, and to Mr. Chandler, also of Worcester, I owe many acknowledgments.

Returning to Rutland, I was greeted with the news, that something had been heard of the Ethiopic inscription; and, soon after, was told by Mr. White, junior, that his uncle had shown him the stone mentioned in Dr. Morse's Geography, but that I must form no high expectations concerning it. Thus prepared, I accompanied this gentleman to the side of a barn, and

* See Chapter xxxvii.

there, in a wall of uncemented stone, making what is called its *under-pinning*—there did I behold the stone, and all its wonders. It is a stone not exceeding two feet in length, by one or one and a half in breadth, and in which there is a vein of white quartz, interspersed with crystallized schoerl. The vein runs lengthwise or horizontally through the stone, is of the uniform breadth of about two inches, and forms the *line of considerable length.* The crystals of schoerl compose six or eight figures, of which the greater part are in a position perpendicular to the vein, and may be said to bear some resemblance to the letters II. Others, however, are in inclined and irregular positions; and, taken together, they constitute the *characters supposed to be Ethiopian.* The schoerl is the *black composition nearly as hard as the stone.* In short, the whole is a granitic vein, of the same description with the granite described as frequent, in masses, in the neighbourhood of Casco Bay.* What makes the representation concerning the stone the more notable is, that this granite is the common stone of the country; and that the crystallized schoerl, which alone confers any singularity upon it, is to be seen on every farm adjacent, in every wall, and in jutting rocks, on either side of the road.

* See Chapter lxxv.

Thus ended my pursuit of the Ethiopic inscription. I had supposed that it would turn out to be an Indian sculpture; but I had not speculated upon a vein of white granite. It appeared, that Mr. White had shown the stone, as something remarkable, to a neighbour; and that this neighbour had sent the description to Dr. Morse. Rutland is distant fifty-six miles from Boston.

## CHAPTER LXXXI.

*Vermont—Rutland—Middlebury—Vergennes.*

FROM Rutland in Massachusetts, I travelled to Rutland in Vermont, repassing the Great Falls, and crossing the Green Mountains, which I did from Windsor, by the way of Cavendish, Mount Holly and Clarendon.

The Green Mountains, of the lower extremity of which I have before had occasion to speak,* and of which the upper is now to come into view, compose a spur of the Alleghany Mountains, which, running along the west banks of Hudson's River, Lake George and Lake Cham-

* Chapter xxii.

plain, loses itself on the plain of the Saint-François and the great river Saint-Lawrence. In Vermont, it runs lengthwise through the state, entering it in forty-two degrees forty-four minutes north latitude, and leaving it in forty-five degrees north latitude, only a few miles short of its termination.

The substance of these mountains, here, and further downward, is calcareous.* The limestone approaches so near to the banks of the Connecticut, that in departing from Windsor, I found the outsides of the houses covered with plaster and lime, an important article of commerce, before I reached Black River, where it flows through the town of Cavendish; and, from this point, it is found westerly in all parts of Vermont, to its furthest limits, on Lake Champlain.

Kellington Peak, on the western side, is the highest land on these mountains. Its summit is said to be three thousand four hundred and fifty-four feet above the level of the sea.†

* M. Volney, in his interesting, and generally accurate view, of the internal structure of the country of the United States, labours under some errors, as to the composition of the mountains of Vermont, and as to all the country of Lake George, Lake Champlain and the river Saint-Lawrence.

† Williams's History of Vermont.

It is from the Green Mountains that the country has received the name of *Vermont*. Of what is strangely called its baptism, as strange an account has been given, by the hand by which it was conferred. The narrative that I subjoin belongs to the history of Vermont, and is perhaps not uncharacteristic; and it is concluded with a criticism on a modern departure from what is represented to be the true orthography and pronunciation:

"VERD-MONT was a name given to the "Green Mountain, in October, 1763, by the "Rev. Dr. Peters, the first clergyman who paid "a visit to the thirty thousand settlers in that "country, in the presence of Colonel Taplin, "Colonel Willes, Colonel Peters, Judge Pe-"ters and many others, who were proprietors "of a large number of townships in that colo-"ny. The ceremony was performed on the "top of a rock standing on a high mountain, "then named Mount Pisgah, because it *provided* "to the company, *a clear sight of Lake Cham-"plain at the west, and of Connecticut River at "the east;* and overlooked all the trees and "hills in the vast wilderness at the north and "south.

"The baptism was performed in the follow-"ing manner and form, *viz:* Priest Peters

" stood on the pinnacle of the rock, when he " received a bottle of *spirits* from Colonel Tap- " lin; then, haranguing the company with a " short history of the infant settlement, and the " prospect of its becoming an impregnable bar- " rier between the British colonies in the south, " and late colonies of the French in the north, " which might be returned in the next century " to their late owners, for the sake of governing " America by the different powers of Europe, " he continued, ' We have here met on the " ' rock Etam, standing on Mount Pisgah, " ' which makes a part of *the everlasting hill*, " ' the spine of Africa, Asia and America, " ' holding together the terrestrial ball, and divi- " ' ding the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean, " ' to dedicate and consecrate this extensive " ' wilderness *to God manifested in human flesh*, " ' and to give it a new name, worthy of the " ' Athenians and ancient Spartans; which new " ' name is *Verd-Mont*, in token that her moun- " ' tains and hills shall be ever green, and shall " ' never die.'—And then poured the *spirits* " around him, and cast the bottle on the rock " Etam. The ceremony being over, the com- " pany descended Mount Pisgah, and took re- " freshment in a log-house, kept by Captain " Otley, where they spent the night with great " pleasure. After this, Priest Peters passed

" through most of the settlements, preaching " and baptizing for the space of eight weeks; " in which time he baptized nearly twelve hun- " dred children and adults.

" Since Verdmont became a state, in union " with the thirteen states of America, its gene- " ral assembly have seen proper to change the " spelling of *Verd*-mont, Green Mountain, to " that of *Ver*-mont, Mountain of Maggots. " Both words are French; and, if the former " spelling is to give place to the latter, it will " prove, that the state had rather be considered " as a mountain of worms, than an ever-green " mountain."*

After learning, from the inventor himself, that he formed the name *Vermont* or *Verdmont* from the French language, we can pay no attention to the derivation of a topographer, who gives us a Latin etymology, " *Ver Mons*, Green Moun- " tain;"† but, when we find a complaint institu- ted, of a departure from the original meaning of the word, such as involves a departure from its signification, we are naturally struck with the cir- cumstance, that the word never was compounded and applied in any accurate form.

* A History of the Rev. Hugh Peters, A. M. &c. By the Rev. Samuel Peters, LL. D. New York, 1807.

† American Gazetteer.

Green Mountain, in the singular, and not Green Mountains, was the name intended to be translated; and this is to be accounted for by the fact, that the mountains, of which only the southernmost part was known to the first settlers, were usually so spoken of—*the mountain.** But, for the name Green Mountain, *Ver Mons* is not Latin, and *Verd Mont* is not French.

I crossed and recrossed the Green Mountains between the thirty-first day of December, 1807, and the twentieth day of January, 1808. The banks of the Connecticut were themselves by this time covered with snow, and I now travelled in a *sleigh* or sledge.

All the western part of Vermont was once esteemed to be within the limits of Canada, or rather of New France. The French never had any settlements on the lake, except very small ones, at Fort Saint-Frederic and near Point au Fer, both on the west side;† but they imposed some

* "In the southern part of the state, *going over the* "*mountain* is a phrase peculiarly appropriated to pass- "ing from one side of the state to the other: in the "northern parts, this is not so well understood."—*An Alphabetical Atlas, or Gazetteer of Vermont, &c.—By James Dean, A. M. Tutor in the University of Vermont.* Montpellier, 1808.

† The last is mentioned by Kalm, who travelled in the year 1749. Fort Saint-Frederic is the modern Crown Point.

topographical names which are yet retained. The Otter Creek of the English is the *Rivière aux Loutres* of the French. This stream rises near the head of Batten Kill, a river which falls into Hudson's River; and, after a meandering course, of eighty-five miles, of which the general direction is north-west, falls into Lake Champlain. The vale through which it flows is broad and fertile, and contains some lands of extraordinary value. On each side, it is bordered by high mountains.

The village in Rutland is built on ground which commands an extensive view, and the road continues to ascend as it passes through Leicester, the adjoining town; but, here, and in Salisbury, the country to the westward spreads itself in a rich plain below. From Leicester, as I have already had occasion to take notice, the view extends to the mountains on the opposite side of Lake Champlain.

Following Salisbury is Middlebury, which contains one of the principal villages in Vermont. A cataract of considerable volume, formed by the water of the Otter-creek, has afforded seats for numerous mills, and this, as has been before represented, is, in most situations, a sure foundation for a flourishing village. On this cataract, beside forges, fulling and flower-mills, and the other ordinary works, is a saw-

mill, applied to the purpose of sawing marble. All the surrounding rock is marble, and the mill, which has the river at its back, has a quarry at its door. Specimens are shown of white, gray and brown marble, of which the two latter are very pleasingly veined. The slabs receive a very high polish, and are well adapted for chimney-pieces; but they are also in demand for grave-stones, of which latter, some that are first fancifully engraved, are sold at forty dollars. The saw, which, in sawing in timber, moves vertically, moves, in this marble saw-mill, in a horizontal direction. This application of the instrument originated with Dr. Judd, the present proprietor.

Middlebury contains a college, or university, by which, at its commencement this year, degrees were conferred on seven students and others.

Still lower on the Otter-creek, and only five miles short of its entrance into the lake, is a cataract which ranks among the most beautiful in New England. On its banks are seated the town and village of Vergennes, a name intended to honour M. de Vergennes, sometime minister of the court of France. Sloops ascend from the lake to the foot of the cataract; and, from this and other circumstances, Vergennes is well seated for iron-works. Bog-ore abounds

in all the adjacent country; and stone-ore is brought from Crown Point, on the opposite side of the lake. A furnace, and other extensive works, in addition to those which have been long established, are at this time erecting. There are bridges across the Otter-creek, both at Middlebury and Vergennes; and each of these villages exhibits a busy and thriving appearance.

Roads, both from New York and Boston, meet in Vergennes, whence there is a road due north to Burlington, distant twenty-two miles, a commercial village and port of entry on the lake, and by which there is a constant communication, either by land or water, with Montreal, in Lower Canada. With New York, Burlington communicates either by land-carriage direct to Troy, on Hudson's River, or by the navigation of the lake to the port of Whitehall, at its southern extremity, and thence, by land, to Troy. Troy is a place of large and advancing trade, situate on the east bank of Hudson's River, and six miles above Albany.

The Green Mountains divide Vermont into two parts, of which, in the southern part, the respective inhabitants almost regard each other as foreigners. Their intercourse is small. The farmer on the east has no need of the farmer on the west, and he does not even pass his door, on his road to

market. The produce of the east side of the mountains descends the Connecticut, or is carried eastward, across the country, in both cases to the Boston market; but, the produce of the west side is exported either to Hudson's River, or to the Saint-Lawrence. In ordinary times, Hudson's River affords the more profitable trade, except in the articles of masts and lumber, for which there is no sale whatever, but at Quebec. At the conjuncture in which I visited the country, trade was on a different footing. It had come into the head of the government of the United States, to involve in common and instant ruin all the greater powers of Europe, by means of an interdiction of its own commerce, and the sacrifice of its own resources; and, under the pressure of this event, not only all Vermont, but all New York and Massachusetts, began to send their pork, pot-ash and specie, to Montreal; and even the Carolinas and Georgia to despatch their cotton in the same direction. The north-west parts of Vermont, therefore, were a scene of great commercial activity.—Intelligence of the laying on of the *embargo* reached Vermont while I was on the east side of the mountains.

That it was the ruin of all the greater powers of Europe at once, and not of any one power in particular, that this interdiction, whimsically called an *embargo*, was really intended to effect, is

what appears from various documents, and among others an elaborate and statesman-like exposition, printed, about this time, in the government gazette;* but, among private men, there were not wanting those, who mistook its object so far as to think, that the exclusive injury of Great Britain, and consequent benefit of the other powers, was the real aim; and persons of this class spied easily into the secrets of the future, and beheld all their desires fulfilled. Among them, one of the most brilliant, as well as the most penetrating, expressed himself in a *morçeau* which the good taste of his fellow-countrymen caused to be printed and reprinted; and I follow, with humility, their example:

"EXTRACT.

"ALL the navies in the world, combined "against Britain, could not strike her a blow so "deadly, or bring her to terms of justice so early, as our *embargo*, connected with her total "exclusion *of* all the ports of Europe. Now, "under all her distresses, let Britain view the "astonishing differences among ourselves, on the "following questions:

"Whether she has insulted and abused us or "not—whether we have any rights on the ocean

* See the National Intelligencer.

" or not—whether the impressment of our bro-
" thers; the murder of Pearce; the outrages on
" the Chesapeake; the mockery of Rose's mis-
" sion; the orders *of* council; the preparations
" for war at Nova Scotia and Canada; the exer-
" tions of British emissaries, to instigate the In-
" dians to massacre our frontier inhabitants, and
" her continued spoliations, and a thousand
" other instances of her motherly kindness, of a
" like complexion, are worth repelling or not—
" whether they shall be endured or submitted to.
" We ask, amidst the petitions of distress, pour-
" ing, from all quarters, into the British parlia-
" ment, for peace, does not that government see,
" and glory in our broils and clamours?—Does
" Britain not see us preparing to resign our in-
" dependence, to submit to any national indig-
" nity, and pine for the crumbs that fall from
" her table?—Yes; and John Bull will cry, to
" his starving people, 'Hush! be calm, yet a
" 'while; for the rebels of my colonies, whose
" 'fathers fought, and conquered, for *three pence*
" '*on a pound of tea*, have become sick of free-
" 'dom, and glutted with wealth, and are about
" 'to return to their allegiance, to bear patiently
" 'my impositions, my scourges and my chains!'
" —God of heaven!—save my country!—
" Spirit of my father!—hover over the Hill

" of Bunker, and point to the sun-bleached " bones of American conquerors."

But, leaving, though not unpitied, that power, or those powers, to their fate, upon whom the United States may propose to pour their wrath, I turn, with a deeper interest, to the contemplation of the fate of the United States themselves, under the system of self-seclusion by which they have resolved to break our necks as well as our hearts. That the system, thus adopted, is that which they were always intended to pursue, and that it will be eminently successful, appears from a solemn and oracular writer, whose prophecy is now more than twenty-seven years old. I allude to the author of a pamphlet, published, in London, in the year 1780, and who, rapt into the future, saw and admired the fortunes predestined to the United States. Addressing himself to no other audience than All the Sovereigns of Europe, and declaring, most prophetically, that the people of the United States would never be governed by the opinions of those in power, never listen to any voice but the voice of truth and nature; he describes, in a subsequent passage, the miserable end of European policy in their regard, and the happy end of their own.

" Those sovereigns of Europe," he exclaims, " who have been led by the office-systems and " worldly wisdom of their ministers; who, see-

" ing things in those lights, have despised the un-
" fashioned awkward youth of America, and
" have neglected to form connections, or at
" least to interweave their interests with those of
" these rising states; when they shall find the sys-
" tem of this new empire not only obstructing, but
" superseding the old system of Europe, and
" crossing upon the effects of all their settled
" maxims and accustomed measures, they will
" call upon these, their ministers and wise men,
" 'Come, curse me this people, for they are
" 'too mighty for me!' Their statesmen will be
" dumb; but, the spirit of Truth will answer,
" 'How shall I curse whom God hath not
" 'cursed? or how shall I defy whom the Lord
" 'hath not defied? From the top of the rock I
" 'see them, from the hills I behold them; lo!
" 'the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be
" 'reckoned amongst the nations.'—America is
" separated from Europe; she will dwell alone;
" she will have no connection with the politics of
" Europe, and *she will not be reckoned amongst*
" *the nations.*"*

* Memoir Most Humbly Addressed to All the Sovereigns of Europe. London, 1780. Page 91.

## CHAPTER LXXXII.

*Vermont—Rutland, resumed.*

RUTLAND is the county-town of the most populous county in Vermont;* and adjacent to the inn at which I put up, is the court-house. On my arrival, which was after sun-set, I found the public curiosity engaged by a sitting in the court-house, on some persons apprehended on a charge of counterfeiting bank-bills. As this was an offence of which I had heard much in all parts of Vermont, I had my curiosity too, and I repaired immediately to the tribunal.

At my entrance, I saw, through the dusk, about a hundred persons, shabbily dressed, standing, sitting, and reclining on the benches and tables; and, from this apparent disorder, I came to an instant conclusion, that the court had adjourned; but, after a few seconds, the words, *this honourable court*, which proceed-

* In 1800, the county, called the county of Rutland, contained 23,733 inhabitants; and, at the same date, the entire population of Vermont amounted to 154,379.

ed from the speaker whose voice I had not at first distinguished, drew me over to a contrary opinion, and I believed that the honourable court was certainly to be found in some portion of the presence in which I stood. Accordingly, I set myself, in all diligence, to look for it; and, as the principal group was assembled on what I afterwàrd found to be the right hand side of the bench, I first supposed it to be hidden there. Soon after, however, having succeeded in distinguishing the person of the orator, and observing the direction in which he addressed himself, I satisfied myself of my error. In short, I descried, upon the bench, four or five men, dressed like the rest, but differing in this, that they were bareheaded, while all the others wore their hats. From this particular, I was henceforth constantly able to distinguish the court from the rest of the persons who filled, from time to time, the bench.

Having now made myself acquainted with the court, I looked next for the jury and the prisoners; but, jury there was none; and, as for the single prisoner that was present, he sat, undistinguished, among the lookers-on. By degrees, I discovered, that though there was a whole bench of judgés, and six or eight lawyers at the bar, this honourable court, of which the name was a *court of inquiry*, was engaged merely in

an affair of police, and was called upon only to discharge, or to commit for trial, two or three persons, apprehended as above. The court consisted only in the person of one of the magistrates, his bare-headed companions being but assistants in courtesy.—This use of the words *court* and *honourable court* had often misled me, and I had now been as much misled as before.

There is, in Vermont, as in some of its fellow-republics, no attorney-general for the whole republic, but an attorney-general, or, as it is called, a *state's attorney*, for each particular county. In the present instance, the attorney-general for the county of Rutland, aided by a second lawyer, appeared for the prosecution; and there were also two lawyers who defended the prisoner. These gentlemen, with many others, were seated at a table, covered with a green cloth; and, upon the table, sat two or three of the sovereign people, with their backs toward the honourable court. In front of the bench, and without the bar, upon a raised platform, was an iron stove or *poële;* and, upon the platform, stood half a dozen more of the same people. The stove, though both the court and the bar frequently spoke of their sufferings from the cold, and occasionally discussed the propriety of adjourning, to warm themselves in the adjacent public-houses, contained neither fire nor fuel.

It was a counsel for one of the prisoners that I had found upon his legs; and I presently perceived that the merits of the case were in discussion upon the broadest basis. *Fundamental principles*, as recommended in the instrument, called the constitution of the republic, were *frequently recurred to*. The whole theory of the rights of man, and the whole basis of the social compact, were agitated; and a deplorable picture of the oppressions of the existing government was drawn:—"Why, men will say," exclaimed this counsel for the prisoner, "we *are* "fallen in evil times, if the government can put "*mankind in* gaol, when they please, when "there's nothing *agin 'em!*"—Proceeding in this strain, and reiterating the words *government* and *fallen in evil times*, the counsel made a most formidable speech, such as might have shocked many an honest soul, who, till he heard him, had dreamed of nothing but a paradise of civil liberty, upon the sides of the Green Mountains.—So alarming, indeed, was the nature of the counsel's language, that a lawyer, not engaged in the fray, and next to whom I sat, observed to me, that his brother appeared desirous of rousing the gallant spirits of the crowd that pressed upon us, and putting the question, of commitment or no commitment, to its vote.

Again and again, the speaker recurred to the sentiment that seemed to overwhelm him, that of the evil times in which we were fallen :—" It must, " indeed, be said, we have fallen in evil times, if " the government can put mankind in gaols, " though there's nothing agin 'em."—It is to be observed, that the word *mankind*, so ludicrous in its application here, is frequently used in New England, as in this example, for *men*, in the indefinite sense.

Mr. attorney, for the government, (and of whom his adversaries spoke by the name of *the government*,) insisted, that enough was before the honourable court to justify a commitment ;—or, in the phrase of this bar, to justify putting the prisoner *under bonds*. By bonds, the reader is not to understand either chains or bondage, but bail-bonds. To put a prisoner under bonds, is to order him to find bail ; counterfeiting bank notes is one of the bailable offences in these countries, and bail is so much a matter of course, that commitment is never mentioned : the only question with the culprit, here called the *defendant*, is, whether he shall be suffered to remain in the territory, or to leave it, without some sacrifice of property ; or, whether he must hire bail before he goes, and sustain the damage. —It was, therefore, but by figure, that the learned counsel talked of the government's putting

mankind into gaols, the only confinement being that which the culprit suffers between his apprehension, and his being put *under bonds*.

The sufficiency of proof was again denied for the defence; and it was contended, that where there is a doubt of guilt, an *acquittal*, as (to the confusion of every principle of polity) it was denominated, should follow. Mr. attorney rejoined, that the duty of a court of inquiry resembled that of a grand jury, and that where there is a doubt of innocence, a grand jury is to find the bill.

Here, the distress of the opposite counsel rose higher than ever. He lifted his hands, and protested, that what had been said was neither law nor gospel—at least, it was "new law to him;" and he cited an abundance of excellent maxims, contained in the charges of judges, not indeed to grand-juries, but to petit-juries, and from which he triumphantly showed, that the uniform doctrine is that where there is a doubt of guilt, a petit-jury should acquit.

Protesting, still, against this *new law*, he now declared, without all hypothesis, that we *were fallen in evil times*, adding, in a tone of equal amazement and despondence, that "It was come "to a fine pass, if the government were going to "maintain such doctrines as these;" doctrines,

which, he averred, were insupportable and unsupported: "Even in Great Britain," said he, "of which we hear so much of their tyranny "and oppression of *mankind*——"

Mr. attorney's law being then called in question, he rose, to cite authorities, observing, with the keenest sarcasm, that "His authori- "ties were British, and as the gentleman was "so fond of the British government——"

"No! I know they're *arbitary creaturs;* "but,——"

Mr. attorney—"I will read the law."

Creature, pronounced *creatur*, is used in New England, in regard to men, in all the senses of the French *animal*, *bête* and *monstre;* and it intimates, according to the expression with which it is accompanied, either contempt or detestation. I have heard it applied to anabaptists, methodists and anti-federalists, in a manner that conveyed as much contempt for their supposed stupidity, as horror of their practices. By *creaturs*, as uttered by the learned counsel, in respect of the British government, was intended a term of anger and detestation.—For the rest, it would be difficult to make the reader aware of the severity and dexterity of the stroke of Mr. attorney. It was the *argumentum ad hominem*, and was designed more to intimidate, than to convince the opponent. That opponent

has probably in view, to be made one day either a post-master, governor or general of brigade; and, to fix upon him, in the view of the county, a charge of fondness for the British government, was to stamp him for a traitor, a tory, federalist—in short, to render him, as the term is, *politically damned.* Nothing, therefore, could be less surprising than the almost breathless rapidity with which the interruption was made—"No! I know they're *arbitary crea-* "*turs;* but——"*

But, upon this point, he was heard no more, the court here putting the prisoner *under bonds.* The only question that remained, respected the amount of the bail to be taken. The prisoner and his counsel strongly recommended that it should be a small one; the constitutionality of excessive bail was denied; and the counsel, who excelled, as has been seen, in pathos, was happy enough to bring the example of the widow's mite, to show, that small bail, from a poor man, ought to be as acceptable as

* The caution, with which a candidate for popular favour, in the United States, is often seen to utter a sentiment, in any degree favourable to Great Britain, is to be observed as a characteristic. Thus, in a late oration, a village lawyer, endeavouring to instil such a sentiment into his audience, uses the utmost precaution: "*Whatever Great Britain may be*, she "seems to have desired a reconciliation."

large bail from a rich one ;—but, the whole ended in a decree, that the sum should be fifteen hundred dollars.

The court now adjourned till after *supper ;* that is, till about eight o'clock. It was in no small degree satisfactory to observe, that amid the want of deference for the magistrate, manifested in a number of instances, and amid some defect and defects of education in some of the members of the bar, the sentence pronounced was heard with silence and submission. —The counsel for the defence is also a very respectable man,

——in evil times though fallen.

With the sentence of the court, and with the conduct of the prosecution, I saw less occasion to be pleased.

## CHAPTER LXXXIII.

*The same, continued.*

THE detection, of counterfeiters of bank notes, was, at this time, the object, that of all others, engaged the attention of the government of Vermont; a zeal in the same cause was burning in the people; and examples, there may be reason to believe, were not few in number, in which blindness and injustice, and consequent oppression, the usual attendants of zeal, distinguished themselves in the events of the day. One of the county magistrates remarked to me, that such was the terror prevailing, that few or no counterfeit notes were, as he believed, at that moment in circulation; and, on the other hand, that such was the state of the public mind, that no person accused of counterfeiting them, could expect an impartial trial. He gave the example of a young man of his acquaintance, who was held to bail, and whom, he said, he should advise to fly the state. It was true, that by so doing, he would renounce his native soil, and leave his character open to calumny; he believed the young man to be innocent; and the evidence upon which he was held to bail, was,

as he represented it to be, the most futile and absurd; but, he gave it as his fixed opinion, that for the most innocent man to commit himself to a jury, upon such a charge, and in the actual temper of the county, would be madness.

The practice of counterfeiting bank notes has till lately been practised in Vermont to a very large extent, and with very little disturbance from the government. In a newspaper of the day, I saw it asserted, that even at the period of which I am speaking, there were among the "magistrates, men who knowingly, wilfully, "and sometimes openly, purchased counterfeit "bills, at a discount, on purpose to palm them "off."* It was but recently that a new system had been adopted, and what I witnessed was the shock of a revolution.

The earlier counterfeiters, as it was said, had commenced their business in Canada, or as it is here called, on the other side of *the line*, or in *the province;* and it was only after experiencing the safety which they might enjoy at home, that they had pursued it in Vermont. The settlers, in the adjacent parts of Canada, are generally Vermontese emigrants, and often emigrants of the worst character. The frontiers of the two territories are reciprocally the resort of knaves and persons of desperate fortunes.

* Green Mountain Palladium.

The Vermontese counterfeiters, whether from their presses in Canada or in Vermont, had spread their counterfeited bills in New York and all the other states; and, many of them having been seized, and convicted, in those states, the character of the country from which they came had suffered, both as a seat of counterfeiters, and as a jurisdiction in which no disposition to bring them to justice was discovered.

These facts and imputations might be supposed sufficient to account for the heat of passion with which at last a new course of proceedings was adopted; but, another cause, of great magnitude, and well adapted to explain all the phenomenons, was said to be the principal, if not the only efficient one. The government of Vermont had set up a bank of its own, and it had made a discovery of a plate, counterfeiting the notes of that very bank, and nearly in a state of completion.

There is but one bank in the state of Vermont,* and this is a bank instituted in the year 1806, upon principles the most extraordinary. The assembly, in which consists, and by which is exercised, the whole public authority, governmental, legislative and judicial, civil and military, and which, it is to be considered, is compo-

* In New Hampshire there are nine.

sed of a body of private men, of humble fortunes, and busy in improving them; the assembly has instituted a bank, of which the state is the firm, and of which the members of the assembly, and, among the members of the assembly, the members of the ruling party, are the directors in chief. The bank was commenced without capital-stock, but simply with a vote of a few hundred dollars, for the hire of offices, the engraving of a plate for its notes, and the purchase of paper, pens and ink. In lieu of capital-stock, the revenues of the state were pledged by the assembly; and this pledge is the sole foundation of its credit: thus, it is enacted, that if a verdict is given against the bank, in any suit in which it is defendant, the judge, by whom the cause shall have been tried, shall draw, for the amount of damages and costs—not upon the cashier of the bank, but upon the treasurer of the state. The directors, as managers of the details, are public officers, chosen and paid by the assembly. The bank is to have officers and directors in several towns in the state; and no other notes than the notes of this bank, some of which are as low as half a dollar, are to be current in the state.—In conversing with an intelligent member of the assembly, upon the plan, objects and tendency of this institution, I heard from his lips this concise view of the subject:—Either the

bank will succeed, or will not succeed: if it does not succeed, it will bring the state into bankruptcy; if it does succeed, it will become the most gigantic engine of political corruption that ever was contrived.*—As this gentleman is a member of the popular party, I knew, at the time of his making these declarations, that he had at least given his countenance to the establishment of the bank; but, it was not without some amazement, that upon the best authority, I subsequently learned, that he had been a principal actor upon the occasion!

When it is considered, that those men who are legislators within the walls of the assembly, are not only private citizens out of them, but are the very persons whose own necessities are to be provided for, by the discounts afforded them at this bank, and whose own credit and facility of effecting bargains depends upon the facility with

* The bank has lately stopped payment; but, this misfortune is attributed only to the calamities of the times, and its credit is expected to be restored.—Along with the Vermont State Bank, the Hinsbury Bank, the Cheshire, Coos, Concord and Berkshire Banks, in New Hampshire; the Northampton Bank, in Massachusetts; the Hallowell and Augusta, Lincoln, Kennebec and Penobscot Banks, have also stopped payment. In Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the Gloucester Bank has failed for a large amount, and fraud is imputed to the president and directors.

which the notes that they borrow are received in payment; when, in short, it is considered, that they, and all the other traffickers in the state, are virtually stockholders in the bank, it must cease to be of any difficulty of belief, that a very large proportion, of what, in one sense, is to be called the better sort, in Vermont, is called, not only by the cause of public justice, but by a strong personal interest, to the detection of counterfeiters, and has therefore a serious temptation to be governed, whether as witnesses, magistrates, jurors or judges, by the most improper bias. The magistrate is, perhaps, a bank-director, or else is negotiating a bill, or at least has a common interest, like other stockholders, at stake. At the best, he is liable to share in the general sentiment that pervades and inflames the public; he sends the culprit to trial; and, with the facts that are now before us, we shall perhaps agree with the particular magistrate, to whose conversation I have referred, that for the most innocent man, to abide the issue of a trial were madness.

But, when the populace labours under some temporary phrenzy; when police-magistrates and juries have lost the cool but steady temper that should alone belong to the ministers of public justice, we fix our hopes on the learning, the honesty and the unshaken courage of the judge. What, however, are judges, in Vermont?

Miserable men, who depend for a yearly pittance, or, as it is said, for a livelihood, upon the yearly vote of the assembly! In the case before us, the judges are in the hire of the very firm of that bank, the imputed frauds on which they are to try. Suppose them wholly free from personal interest in the welfare of that bank; suppose it not expected of them, by the assembly, to befriend that bank; and suppose them incapable of submitting to serve the assembly in that way; it is yet to be taken into the account, in what degree the out-door popularity of a judge is necessary to his continuance in office! Of one, certainly not the least respectable of the judges who have sat on the bench of Vermont; of one, who may be believed to have been worthy of a better fate, a melancholy anecdote was related to me, by a gentleman, who, as he related the story, could be under no mistake as to the fact. The judge, being on a circuit, and making his progress as is usual and necessary in the less frequented parts of the state; that is, by advancing twenty or thirty miles by one stage-coach, and then waiting, perhaps half a day, and perhaps a whole one, at an inn, for a second, had arrived at an inn, where my informant found a lodging also. The latter spent his evening in the parlour, or, as it is called, the *keeping-room*, and

was not aware that the judge was in the house. Adjoining, was the bar-room; and, the door being left a-jar, a voice, which he thought familiar, caught his ear. As the voice was continued in an argumentative and oratorical strain, he had an additional motive for giving it attention; and he presently discovered, that it was the voice of the judge to whom I allude, and who was addressing a political discourse to a rustic audience in the bar-room. Listening to the discourse, he was struck with a dissonance in the sentiments which it contained, with those which the judge, in more enlightened companies, and particularly among his friends, was accustomed to profess: he was dealing, in short, very freely, in what the author of Discourses on Davila calls the plebeian philosophy; that is, in that cast of sentiment and opinion which suits the taste and apprehension, and assimilates with the prejudices of condition, in vulgar life. The harangue being finished, and the audience broken up, and dispersed, the judge was at length left alone; and, a few moments after this, his friend opened the door more widely, and discovered himself. The judge was surprised, and apparently mortified at seeing him. His friend, however, went so far as to tell him, that he had heard his discourse, and then rallied him on the opinions, by the expression of which he had been cajoling the sovereign

people. The judge grew confused, and at the same time grew dejected; and, at length, stopped further animadversion, by this reply:—"After all, "my friend, you must not so much blame me, as "the d——d country in which I live. I have a "wife and children dependent on my salary, "and this is the way I must earn it!"—If this is not the language of a virtuous man, it is at least that of a feeling one.

Of the judges, at present on the bench of the supreme court, only one was bred to the law. Of the others, one, at the present time, finds, leisure, in the vacations, to drive a team between Rutland and Troy; or such, at least, is the fact of which I was assured, by persons, both in the magistracy, and in the profession of the law, on either side of the Green Mountains, and without inquiry on my part.

Nor is the administration of the law, from the bench itself, to be exempted from specific accusations; nor is the decorum of the bench, at all times, to practical purposes maintained. Of Chief-Justice Robinson, of the supreme court, a singular story is related. At Bennington, in this state, a man, named Tippets, was charged with murdering an Indian, by beating him to death with a club. The cause of the culprit was espoused by one of the political parties; and two counsel were sent for into the state, to

conduct the defence. One of the strangers was from Massachusetts, and the other, Mr. Pierpoint Edwards, at present a district-judge, was from Connecticut. Tippets was acquitted, and no doubt on good grounds; but, what was peculiar, was the conduct of the chief-justice, who, at dinner, during an adjournment of the court, and pending the trial, occupied himself in carrying, from guest to guest, a subscription-paper, the object of which was to raise the sum of two hundred dollars, or thereabout, in which amount the prisoner's counsel were to be remunerated.

At the bar, the counsel sometimes venture upon a style of cross-examination that is no where defensible; because, to offer insult to a witness can never fall within the duty of an advocate. On an occasion, however, of this sort, a witness, at Burlington in Vermont, appealed to the protection of the court. The counsel, anticipating reproof, hastily declared, "If the court think I have been *sarcy*, I "won't say another word!"

An example of humour is related, in the reply of the late General Hamilton, who belonged to the bar of New York, and who, at a court in Vermont, was offered a bet from the bench. Bets are continually offered in the United States; and the bet, in every one's mouth, is

*a beaver hat ;* but, in this instance, it was a bowl of punch. Mr. Hamilton having stated what he considered to be the law of a certain case, the court interrupted him, exclaiming, " You " are wrong, Mr. Hamilton ; I'll bet you a bowl " of punch of it !"—" May it please your ho- " nour," returned Mr. Hamilton, " *I* never drink " punch."—The judge had a reputation of a contrary description.

The statutes of Vermont offer a field for animadversion, as large as either of those of which we have allowed ourselves a glimpse. Vermont has been long celebrated, even among her sister states, for the facilities which her laws hold out, for the dissolution of the marriage-contract. They have existed to such a degree as to invite strangers into her courts upon this errand, and consequently to be very injurious to the morals of the adjacent territories. By a statute lately passed, some remedy was intended to be applied to the evil, so far as it affected the subjects of other states ; but, from the following advertisement, it would appear, that the means of accomplishing the worst purposes are still left open.

" DIVORCE.

" THOSE gentlemen or ladies whose unfortu- " nate situations render a separation not only " desirable but necessary, will find it much to

" their advantage by applying to James Hubbell,
" Esq. Attorney and Counsellor at Law, (Ben-
" nington, Vermont,) who will (through the
" liberal provision of a statute, in such case
" made and provided, by the Legislature of
" Vermont,) procure for them a Bill of Di-
" vorce, on easy terms, that may be agreed
" on."*

## CHAPTER LXXXIV.

*Vermont—Burlington—University of Vermont—Saint-Alban's.*

THE town of Burlington has been chosen for the seat of the University of Vermont, an institution yet in the feebleness of the earliest infancy, but which has nevertheless sixty students, and has this year conferred degrees upon three candidates. From the first erection of the existing government, a tract of land was reserved, in every town incorporated, for the benefit of a future university; and the property of the tracts so reserved, containing in the whole, thirty-eight thousand, acres, but

* New York Evening Post, March 1st, 1809.

the advance of the country, in population and agriculture, is not yet sufficient to render the property productive. Much, however, has been done by private subscription.

The university possesses a handsome college-edifice, of red brick, built on a commanding eminence, in Burlington Bay; the ground on which it stands receding about two miles from the shore, and having an elevation of little less than four hundred feet above the level of the water. The building is a hundred and sixty feet in length, and in the centre it is seventy-five feet in depth. On the wings, its depth is only forty-five. It contains forty-eight lodging-rooms, and six public rooms, disposed on four stories.

Students have been usually boarded at the low price of a dollar and a quarter per week; and, for tuition, they are only charged twelve dollars per annum: the whole expense, of four years of college education, is estimated at two hundred and fifty dollars.

Among the principal benefactors of this institution, is to be regarded the Reverend Dr. Samuel Williams, already mentioned as the author of the History of Vermont. This gentleman has for some time employed his talents, almost, if not quite gratuitously, in delivering lectures in natural philosophy, and in forwarding the progress of the university, in this department of

science. The philosophical lecture-room contains a small apparatus, purchased with the sum of four hundred and eighty dollars, which was raised by subscription, and which Dr. Williams expended in the most frugal manner, admitting nothing of foreign manufacture which could in any manner be made at home, and nothing of brass which could be made of wood. On the ceiling, the same gentleman has executed a planetarium, with a radius of fourteen feet and a half, and of which the ground is washed of a sky-blue colour. Dr. Williams has now left the university, of which the only officers are a president, a tutor, and a lecturer in chirurgery and anatomy.

The village of Burlington is below the college, and on the border of the lake; but, the land, even here, has from fifty to sixty feet elevation. Part of the houses form a square, on the east side of which is a county court-house, and on the remaining three there are the shops of country-merchants and artificers; and some genteel houses, inhabited by lawyers and others. On the south side is a printing office, at which is printed the county newspaper.* The appearance of the village is particularly flourishing; but the whole population, of the village and town together, is small. In the year 1800, it contained

* The Vermont Centinel.

only eight hundred and fifteen inhabitants; and of its claims to be regarded as still in forest, a fact, which occurred in 1806, may afford some proof. Within the village is the county-gaol, and the limits, so called, of the gaol yard, extend to the edge of the lake, on some low ground, to the south of the village; but, this low ground is so well frequented by deer, that in the year mentioned, a confined debtor, without leaving the limits, shot, in the course of the season, eleven. The actual population of Burlington may exceed one thousand souls.

The port of Burlington is distant between fifty and sixty miles from Whitehall,* in New York, and seventy miles from Fort Saint-Jean, in Lower Canada; with both which ports, while the lake is free from ice, it has constant communication. By land, Burlington communicates with Boston; and it has a prospect of a beneficial internal trade, derived in part from the valley of the Winooski, which intersects the Green Mountains, and stretches north-eastward, almost to the banks of the Connecticut; a prospect which would be still more promising, were it not, that in the northern parts of the country, the mountains being less a barrier than in the southern, the trade is principally directed to Boston. The river Winooski, which falls into Burlington Bay, or rather to the northward of it, is the northern boun-

* Formerly called Skeensborough.

dary of Burlington, separating that town from Colchester. From the name of the Ouineaskea, or Winooski, the bay was formerly called Ouineaskea Bay. The river was also called French River,* and is now frequently called Onion River. The name *Onion River* is translated from *Winooski*, *Winooskeag* or *Winoostiquoke*, meaning the banks of a river on which there are onions, or, rather, wild garlic.

The soil, near the lake, is composed of coarse sand, on which the natural growth is black pine. When the forest is first cleared, extraordinary crops, both of maize and wheat, are obtained from it; and, manured with gypsum, it may be made permanently productive. But, the value of produce, in this part of the country, has not been sufficient to give full encouragement to its agriculture. The town of Burlington owes more to its merchants than to its farms; and still more to its situation as a port on Lake Champlain, and as a thoroughfare, by land, between New York and the country to the northward, in which is to be included Lower Canada.

Twenty-six miles to the northward of Burlington, is Saint-Alban's, the county-town of the most northerly of the counties of Vermont, lying on Lake Champlain. The town encom-

* History of Vermont.

passes a small bay, denominated Saint-Alban's Bay. Between Burlington and Saint-Alban's, the road crosses the rivers Winooski and Lamouëlle or Lamouëtte.* For beauty of scene-

* Lamouëlle or Lamouëtte is one of the small number of topographical names which has been mentioned above, as received by Vermont from the French. The word is at present a stumbling-block to the Vermontese orthographists. Dr. Williams writes it *Lamoille;* and Mr. Dean, in his Alphabetical *Atlas*, (a well-contrived gazetteer, but a most barbarous piece of geographical literature,) writes it *Lamoil*. Dr. Morse has sometimes *La Moelle*, and sometimes *La Moille*. In Charlevoix's map, it is *la rivière à la Mouëlle*.

Of none of these words is it easy, however, to give any interpretation; and I venture, in consequence, to submit, that the true name of the river is not *à la Mouëlle*, but *à la Mouëtte*. A map-engraver might more pardonably omit to cross his *tt*, than to make the river De Chasy, in this lake, the river *Blazy;* or the *Ile aux Erables* or Isle of Maples, in Lake Superieur, the *Isle of Naples;* and, yet, both the latter mistakes, with a hundred others, occur in Mr. Carleton's Map of the United States, published in Boston, in the year 1806.

The *mouëtte* is in English the *mew* or *gull*, of which more than one species frequents Lake Champlain and the mouths of its rivers, particularly the Little White River Gull. Among the other rivers of the lake, one was called by the French *Au Rat*, another *Aux Castors*, and a third *Aux Loutres;* and it was equally natural that they should devote a fourth to the *mouëtte*.

It may be further worthy of remark, that the name Lamouëlle and Lamouëtte is applied, in the map cited,

ry, no part of the country through which the reader has accompanied me is to be compared

not to the river now called Lamoille or Lamoëlle, but to the Onion River or Winooski; while the Lamouëlle or Lamouëtte is there called *Rivière du Sud*—that is, South River.

Dr. Williams informs us, that the Onion River or Winooski was formerly called French River, and observes, that it was by this river that the Indians formerly passed, in their expeditions against the colonists on the Connecticut.

That the Winooski is the Lamouëlle or Lamouëtte of the French is scarcely credible; but, that the river, now called Lamoille or Lamoëlle, is the river by which the Indians passed, from Lake Champlain to the Connecticut, is probable, first, because, from some maps, there appears to have been formerly a block-house on this river, above the place where it receives Mill Brook; and, secondly, because, in a French general map, (also exhibited by Charlevoix,) in which only two rivers, between Lake Champlain and the Connecticut, are laid down, those two rivers, from the direction of their respective courses, are plainly intended for the Lamouëlle or Lamouëtte and the Poosoomsuc, which latter falls into the Connecticut at the foot of the Fifteen-mile Falls, or what the French geographers denominated the Longue Sault. Dr. Williams, nevertheless, may be right, and the French map may be wrong.

The name of a river a little to the south of Burlington appears also to be mistaken. It is written *Laplatte*, as if the French name had been *la rivière plate*; but,

with that of which I am now speaking. Between Rutland and Burlington, the landscape often excites admiration; but, between Burlington and Saint-Alban's, it is a profusion of magnificence. I have passed this road more than once, both in summer and in winter, and always with reiterated pleasure.

The same magnificence, softening by degrees into the romantic, continues from Saint-Alban's to Swanton Falls, a cataract on the Michiscoui; but, beyond this point, the surface loses its attractive features, and is in great part flat, and even overflowed by the river and the lake. The Michiscoui empties itself in a large bay, to which it gives its name.* The territory of Vermont

in the French map, the point, which is near the mouth of that river, is called *Pointe au Plâtre*, and the name of the river is therefore apparently Laplâtre, or *La rivière au Plâtre.*

* The word *Michiscoui* is of the Indian tongue, but of French orthography. By the English, it is sometimes, but illiterately, spelt *Missisque.* Its pronunciation is *Mishisqui or Missiski.* Missi aski or Missaski would signify *muddy;* a description sufficiently applicable to the mouth of the river; but, upon inquiry, of the Indians of Saint-Français, both for the true name and signification, I found them agreed in calling the river *Miskiscoo*, *Miskiski*, for *Missi kiscoo*, which they interpret *abounding in waterfowl.* It is to be noted, that the word *missi*, *messa*, *massa*, &c. has all the sense of the English word *much.*

extends to the southern extremity of a point of land on the opposite side of the bay; but, the bay itself, as well as the point of land, is intersected by what is called the *province-line;* that is, by the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, which is the southern boundary of Lower Canada.

When, in January, 1808, I passed through Burlington and Saint-Alban's, the inns were crowded with teamsters, employed in carrying loads into Canada. When, in the spring, the lake and the rivers were opened, the navigation of Lake Champlain was employed in the same trade; and, at the return of winter, the general embarrassment, under which the commerce of the United States was then labouring, occasioned an increased vigour of enterprise in this particular quarter.

There was no part of the United States which had so little reason to be dissatisfied with the interdiction as this; and, yet, there was no part where more dissatisfaction was expressed. Here, there were not merely murmurs, but a degree of resistance, amounting, to use the language of a proclamation of the president of the United States, to insurrection.* Viewed on the

* See the Proclamation of the 19th of April, 1808.

surface, this statement is paradoxical; but, it is a paradox very easily explained.

When, in conversation with different inhabitants of this district of country, I inquired, how it happened, that they, of all others, amid their own representations of the advancement making around them, under the fostering influence of the *embargo*, were the loudest to complain, and the first to oppose physical force, they usually replied, that they felt in common with the rest of the United States; deploring the calamities which were experienced, and detesting the policy whence they sprung. But, than this account of their principles of action, nothing could be more fallacious. They had no objection to the *embargo:* they would have rejoiced in its existence along the whole coast of the Atlantic and elsewhere; and they would have rejoiced if it had been for ever continued. It was the attempt to enforce the *embargo* upon their particular commerce; it was the attempt to deprive them of those advantages, which, from their local situation, they were able to derive from the *embargo;* it was this alone which excited their resistance or complaints.

In what was called *a respectful memorial, transmitted to the president of the United States,* but which was in fact a newspaper-advertisement of resolutions, adopted by a meeting of the in-

habitants of the town of Saint-Alban's,* it was represented, that the north-west district of Vermont, (the district here in contemplation,) cut off, by the operation of the *embargo*, from its usual markets, in the seaports of the United States, had found a substitute, in a commerce with Lower Canada. This, however, is not the whole of the case. The district had found, in that commerce, not merely a substitute for its former markets, but increased prosperity. The paper truly states, "That a people, situated as "are your memorialists, at so great a distance "from the Atlantic seaports, must, at all times, "experience many and great commercial disad- "vantages."—At all times, that is, at all ordinary times, they must experience these disadvantages; but, the *embargo*, by closing the seaports of the United States, had presented to this people a new state of things, and promised them a career of gain, to be pursued in defiance of the natural inconveniences of their situation. Exclusively of the increased demand for masts and lumber, which the state of Europe at this identical moment brought into their market, and which was unconnected with the *embargo*, there were

* May 1st, 1808.—*Resolved*, That the foregoing *Memorial* be signed by the selectmen, in behalf of the town, and published in the St. Alban's Advertiser; and that a *printed copy* thereof be transmitted, as soon as may be, to the *executive* of the United States.

other occasions of profit immediately arising from it. The manufacture of pot and pearl ashes is not only a source of immediate profit to the settlers in a forest, but it has the incidental effect of clearing the lands, and promoting the agriculture of the country; but, if the price to be obtained for these articles is too low, or, what is the same thing, if the market is too distant, the articles will not be manufactured; and, for want of other inducement to clear the lands, the lands will remain uncleared. Now, the *embargo*, by closing the seaports of the United States, had not only raised the price of the article, but had rendered Vermont, from being the point most distant from the best market, the point most near; that is, the point of the United States most near to an open seaport. The immediate consequence, as was said by proprietors of lands themselves, was one which is sufficiently obvious, that lands, which had remained in forest up to that moment, would now pay for clearing, by the sale of the pot and pearl ashes to be made on them, and were therefore now under the axe. The truth is, that a long continuance of an *embargo* would give to the northern parts of Vermont, as well as to Canada, and all the countries adjacent, a prosperity for which they can never hope under any other system.

It was not merely, in the forced market, however, thus offered to the produce of the northern parts of Vermont, that the benefits of the *embargo* consisted. This affected the whole of the northern parts, from Lake Champlain to the Connecticut; but, there was also the benefit of the carrying-trade, between Portland, Boston and New-York, and the Canada markets, in Montreal and Quebec, in which the north-western parts of Vermont had an almost exclusive interest. The route lies in the district, and it was of importance that this route should be kept open.

Here, then, was the source of this local opposition. The general system of the *embargo* had many friends; but, its application, to this part of the country, encountered only enemies. For this part of his conduct, Mr. Jefferson's former partisans in the district proclaimed, that they "viewed him with contempt;"* but, had he left the *embargo* limited, as it was at first limited, to the seaports, they would have viewed him only with admiration.

* See the Monkton Resolutions, 11th Feb. 1809.

## CHAPTER LXXXV.

*Vermont—Lake Champlain.*

LAKE CHAMPLAIN, geographically speaking, is divided between New York Vermont, and Lower Canada ; or, under a second view, between Great Britain and the United States.

But, Great Britain, by commanding the navigation of Lake Champlain, is placed in a situation singularly advantageous, as it respects every disposition of the United States for her annoyance. She is placed in the heart of a country attached to her interests by every interest of its own ; a country, whose attachment, or rather whose subservience to her interests, would only be increased in the event of a war of the United States against her. In such an event, while the ports of the United States, on the Atlantic, would become desolate, the ports of Lake Champlain would become seats of wealth ; Boston and New York would turn their commerce in this direction, and population and agriculture would spread themselves round the whole circumference of the lake : this would happen, because, in a state of war, the coun-

try of Lake Champlain would be delivered from that competition of the maritime country, by which, in a state of peace, it is necessarily overpowered.

To secure the friendship of the country of Lake Champlain, no effort, on the part of Great Britain, is required. Seated in strength upon the Saint-Lawrence, and with an open market in its ports, the rest follows of itself. Great Britain will never attempt to extend her sovereignty upon the lake. She will be satisfied to see it in that state of perfect independence which is alone consistent with its habits; and that independence will always be conducive to her advantage. There is not a shadow of political friendship for her existing on the lake; but, the commercial interests will produce every effect of political friendship. In the country, I heard it sometimes said, that were the United States to send an army by that route, for the invasion of Canada, the people would fight against it, and not with it. This notion was a false one; the people would certainly not fight against an army proceeding to the invasion of Canada, but they would fight against an army that should interrupt their trade with Canada. If the United States had an army, arrived on the frontier of the province, the people would *run* pork and pot ash over night, and

run after the army the next morning. Gain would be equally acceptable, whether derived from trade or from plunder.

It is no foreign attachment, but the want of all foreign attachment, that is the moving principle with these people; it is a sentiment of entire independence. The north-west district of Vermont was very indignant with Mr. Jefferson, for representing, by his proclamation, that the district was in a state of insurrection; and, with respect to the existence of actual insurrection, the charge was unwarrantably made: but, in the greater part of the language employed in Vermont, something of the tone of insurrection was sufficiently audible.*

* In Monkton, a town to the southward of Burlington, some resolutions, from which an expression is already quoted, were agreed to by the inhabitants, in which there is at least a savour of this description:

" *Resolved*, Therefore, as the sense of this town,† " that the President of the United States and those sy- " cophants who are a majority in Congress are no " longer entitled to the confidence of the people.

* * *

" *Resolved*, That we value the name of freemen as " paramount to all other distinctions; that if necessary,

† *This town* contained, in the year 1800, eight hundred and eighty souls.

In reality, the sentiments of the *Green Mountain Boys*, in the year 1807, exactly coincide

" we will unsheath the sword in defence of our just " and unalienable rights; but, when the President of " the United States declares this section of the union " in a state of insurrection, we view him with contempt, " as sinking from the ruler of a magnanimous people, " and that such proclamations have their origin in wick- " edness or ignorance.

" *Resolved*, That we view with deep concern, a grow- " ing system of military despotism in our government, " with no other ostensible object but the enforcement of " arbitrary laws; that the raising of armies, and quarter- " ing the same on our citizens, in time of peace, is an " unwarrantable infringement on our *bill of rights*;* " and, should the *hirelings of government*† enter our " houses, under pretence of searching, *unclothed with* " *constitutional authority*, we will *consider them as rob-* " *bers*, and *treat them as such*.

" *Resolved*, That we will not aid or assist in exe- " cuting the late arbitrary and despotic laws of the 9th " of January last, for the purpose of enforcing the em- " bargo; and that we do not consider either citizen or " soldier as constitutionally bound to aid or assist in car- " rying the same into effect.

" *Resolved*, That we will unitedly support the consti- " tution of the United States, according to the intent

* What *bill of rights?*—but, such is the loose language of the United States.

† Meaning, either the army of the United States, employed in supporting the laws, or their civil officers, employed in executing them.

with their sentiments in 1775, when, resisting the authority which was at that time claimed over them by New York, they resolved, "That for "the future, every necessary preparation be "made, and that our inhabitants hold them- "selves in readiness, at a minute's warning, to "aid and defend such friends of ours, who, for "their merit to the great and general cause, are "falsely denominated rioters; but, that we will "not act any thing, more or less, but on the "defensive, and always encourage due execu- "tion of law, in civil cases, and also in criminal "prosecutions, that are so indeed; and that we "will assist, to the utmost of our power, the "officers appointed for that purpose:" and add- ed, "We will kill and destroy any person or "persons whomsoever, that shall presume to "be accessary, aiding or assisting in taking any "of us."*

As to the pretended fact of insurrection, at this period, in the north-west district of Vermont, the explanation, suggested in the *memorial* above no-

"and meaning thereof, the *embargo-laws* to the contra- "ry notwithstanding."

See, further, an Address by a General Convention of the Commissioned Officers of the Third Brigade, in the Third Division of the Militia of Vermont, June 17th, 1808.

* History of Vermont, chapter xi.

ticed, is unquestionably a nearer approach to historical truth:—"That if individuals, finding themselves and their families on the verge of ruin and wretchedness, have attempted to evade the embargo restrictions, and have actually accomplished their purpose, this could never furnish a just cause for proclaiming to the world, that insurrection and rebellion were chargeable on the good people of this district; and, with confidence, your memorialists declare their belief, that nothing more than this had taken place."*

And this was the real character of the resistance made. When violence was committed, it was by individuals actually engaged in the trade with Canada, and never by a body of people risen against the government. It is to be added, that if the temptation of a lucrative pursuit was in many cases the motive for the trade, there were not wanting other cases, in which, as in the colouring above, the offenders were goaded to their crime by the near prospect of wretchedness and ruin, to themselves and families.

Nothing can be less doubtful, than that in laying the interdiction, the design of the government of the United States was patriotic; but, never

* Saint-Alban's Memorial, agreed to May 21st, 1808.

was a public measure adopted with less thought of its sure consequences, and never was a municipal ordinance, in its operation, more cruel. By one of those persons, by whose pens that government condescends to be supported, it was said, that the interdiction would have the effect of bringing merchants to book, or of affording them leisure to settle their accounts; in other words, of reducing to bankruptcy the trader whose dependence was rather upon credit than upon capital. It could belong only to the United States, where so much pains has been taken, by authority, to sow a preposterous disunion between men of two callings naturally the most friendly to each other, the farmer and merchant; it could belong only to such a community, to be condemned to hear, from a government-teacher, a cry of exultation, at the shock and derangement of the commercial system, and its accompanying private sorrows;—but, the distress was far from stopping with the merchant, and in the seaports; it went into the fields; it brought the farmer, too, to book, and to a melancholy settling of accounts! Wherever I found myself, after the interdiction had produced a portion of its effects, stories of distress were uniformly related.

It brought the farmer to a settling of accounts; and, alas! in the settlement, it left him

without his farm and without his plough, and his children without their bed. It is not the merchant only, as, in some previous views, I have endeavoured to exhibit to the reader, that depends, in the United States, upon commercial credit for his prosperity. The great mass of the farmers, in all those parts of the United States that I have seen, are as much dependent on their credit with the country-merchant, as the country-merchant is dependent on his credit in the seaports, and the merchant in the seaports on his credit in Great Britain. But, the shock, now given, did indeed require a settlement of accounts; and a settlement at the most unpropitious instant, when the farmer's only wealth had lost more than half its worth. In every village, the merchant was collecting his debts; and every-where it was said, that no persons were in a prosperous way but the lawyers, whose employ was that of forcing payments, suing out writs of distress, and bringing lands and chattels to the hammer, where they sold for less than a tenth part of their value. In this picture there is nothing exaggerated. I had it from several lawyers themselves, that their business exceeded, at this period, in triple ratio, its ordinary amount; that they were themselves almost the only persons benefited

by the interdiction; and, in short, that all the facts were such as I venture to represent them.

But, there was one form in which a numerous body of farmers were peculiarly exposed to suffering. The instances are common, in which a farmer purchases his farm upon the terms of paying for it by annual instalments, with the proviso, that for default of payment the property shall be forfeited. He goes on the farm without any property whatever; he depends, from season to season, upon his industry and his harvest; and, if, in any season, his harvest fails him, his instalment must be left unpaid, and his farm, with all its ameliorations, the work of the years in which he has progressively rescued it from the forest, is forfeited. But, the public policy was to him as a failure of his harvest; the grain was heavy in the ear; but the mildew of the interdiction was upon it. Many examples, from town to town, I heard adduced, where farms had been forfeited from this cause.

But, there were others, beside lawyers, who were benefited by the interdiction. The landowner, to whom the farm was forfeited, was benefited. If he refrained from driving the farmer from the land, he had at least an opportunity of making an advantageous compromise. The able trader, too, was benefited; who, venturing upon the traffic with Canada, collected

produce at a low price, and sold it in a foreign market. Here, however, dexterity and enterprise were the winners, and the man, who was merely industrious and undesigning, was sure to be left behind in the race. In every neighbourhood, individuals were pointed out who had made fortunes by the interdiction; but, they had made them out of the losses of those around them.

When we consider, in the mean time, that even though, in a case like the present, it shall be truly said, that thousands suffer, and suffer heavily, it will necessarily happen also, that other thousands suffer only what is light, and that some, as we see, are at the same instant gainers, it is not difficult, even in the single view of men's interests and circumstances of life, to account for a degree of public patience under the calamity. The cries of the unfortunate will be drowned in the shouts of the successful, and will find no echoes in the bosoms of those that are unhurt. But, neither is this the whole. Passion, prejudice, credulity and opinion, interfere, and often succeed in persuading the sufferer, not only that his sufferings are unavoidable, but that they will terminate to his advantage. At Stillwater, in New York, after listening to a long list of evils, I inquired, with what temper they were borne; and I was answered, that the

people in general had murmured greatly, till the arrival of a certain judge, from Washington. Before this, they had supposed it to be a calamity to see their cattle sold by the constable, and to be denied a market for their grain; but, when the judge, from bar-room to bar-room, had harangued them, their eyes had been opened, and they had discovered, that for every yoke of oxen they had become the poorer, Great Britain had become the weaker, and that she must now suddenly submit.

In the lower parts of Vermont, after hearing the many privations families laboured under, I inquired, how the women regarded the matter, as to what affected their houses and their children. I was answered, "That the women had "not much to say in politics, though now "and then they would *spat up*;—but, that in "general, they looked upon it as *a providence*, "and resigned themselves accordingly."*—With the ignorant multitude, the distinction is

* In England, the phrase *a providence*, like the term *providential*, is always applied to an occurrence that is happy, and in a human view desirable; but, in New England, it appears to be more frequently used for that which is disastrous, but which is at the same time to be regarded, and submitted to, as the act of God. It is also said, an awful providence, an afflictive providence, &c. and I have seen a bear's trick related as an *odd providence*, meaning, a singular occurrence.

difficultly made, between what comes from the hand of man, and what from the hand of God.

Again: after the interdiction had been in existence for some time, I often heard this argument for its continuance: "It was a measure "detestable in its adoption; it has ruined thou- "sands among us; but, let us, now, persevere "in it: the mischief, that it could do us, it has "done; and let it, now, work mischief to Great "Britain. I never would have consented to the "laying it on; but, now, I don't want to take it off."

## CHAPTER LXXXVI.

### *The same, concluded.*

I HAD occasion to pass through this part of the country of Lake Champlain a second time, in the middle of the year 1808, and again in the beginning of that of 1809; and my journeys always threw me, either among those who were violating the law, or those who were endeavouring to enforce it.

In June, 1808, I was two days upon the lake, making a circuitous voyage, between Saint-John's, or Fort de Saint-Jean, and Burlington.

The sloop in which I embarked, was one that belonged to the United States, and was liable to seizure, for having violated the interdiction; and was now employed in plying backward and forward, within the British dominion, receiving goods by stealth, and carrying them to Fort de Saint-Jean. Her master undertook only to convey me from the fort to the Province Point, a point of land so called, upon the west shore of the lake, in the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, and on which is set up a stone boundary-mark.

Lake Champlain, from its heads, in Lake George and Wood Creek, to its discharge in the Saint-Lawrence, is only an expanded river, of which the extreme breadth is eighteen miles; and, at the Province Point, its breadth is only three.

A want of wind kept us the whole day upon the river, and the sun was set when we were yet four miles short of the Province Point. It was now a perfect calm, and the captain, as I found, was not even desirous of further pursuing his voyage, perhaps because he had advanced far enough to take in new freight; but, to me, he gave for reason, that the custom-house officers were not at all *too good* to make seizure of his vessel within the foreign limits, should they know that she was so near them. Thus circum-

stanced, the anchor was dropped; and my prospect, of pursuing my journey, was brightened only by the appearance of a canoe, paddling from the mouth of the Lacolle. In the canoe were little boys, returning from the flower-mills on the Lacolle, and who engaged to carry me to the Province Point.

With these pilots, I advanced two miles, at the end of which we came to land, in Odletown; but, here, the boys were at home, and I found them but little willing to fulfil their bargain. Nothing ran in their minds, but that they and their canoe would be seized, should they venture too near the United States. On shore, however, I found a soldier, quartered in the place; and, having engaged him to be of the party, we again put forward.

It was by this time dark; and all that diversified the scene, was the fishermen's lights, which presented themselves in various directions. The inhabitants of these shores go out in canoes, in the head of which, in an iron frame, they fix a lighted pine-knot. The fish, attracted by the light, approach the head of the canoe, where they are struck with a spear, and caught. The large fish in the lake are salmon, salmon-trout, sturgeon, pike and pickerel. The effect of the lights, when they were near enough to the shore to be reflected by the trees, was exceed-

ingly fantastic. In one instance, I believed, for some minutes, that I saw a mansion of large dimensions, with columns and with windows, and embosomed in the woods. There was nothing, in reality, but trees; and I thought that this deception afforded me some clew to the histories of those enchanted palaces, toward which knights, in black armour or in white, have turned their steeds, and which have vanished at their approach.

I was in pursuit of no palace for my lodging; but, even I was destined to adventure. On the Province Point, on the north side of the boundary, I was taught to expect to find a *store*, inhabited, and in the bustle of the *running* business. We reached, at length, what the boys pronounced to be the Province Point, and, on drawing near, we saw a log-hut, but in which there was no light. We landed, and found ourselves in a solitude. From this spot, however, as my conductors assured me, a walk of half a mile would carry me to a public-house; and, here, therefore, they proposed to leave me, being themselves fearful of going round the point. It happened, that I was without change, to pay the reward agreed on for their service. I had relied upon procuring this at the *store*, and now proposed, that one of the party should accompany

me to the public-house. The others were afraid to wait for him; and, at the end of the few moments which elapsed in this conversation, we heard a second canoe, paddling to the shore. At the sound of our voices, it drew off; but, on our speaking to those who were in it, and assuring them that we were friends, it came to land. It happened to contain a gentleman, whom I had previously known, a Boston merchant, who had succeeded in carrying forty thousand dollars in specie into Canada, and who was returning with the bills on London for which he had sold them.

He, like myself, was to be carried no further than the Province Point, and I was now to have a companion, on my journey to the public-house. As, where we stood, the path that we were to take was not very obvious, we advanced a few steps, to explore it; but, in so doing, we found, at a very few paces back, that the land was overflowed, and that we were placed, as to all purposes of walking, only upon a diminutive island. I had now reason to rejoice in my want of change; for, so pressing were the fears of my crew, that had I been able to give them money, at the moment of landing, they, at the same moment, would have retired with precipitation, and I should have been left to pass the night at the boundary-stone.

Upon this discovery, it was admitted to be indispensable, that the canoes should turn the point; and the soldier in mine, with that civility of deportment which I have often had occasion to admire, in the privates of the British army, warmly declared that he would run all risks, rather than not set me on firm land. Having turned the point, we made a further arrangement, for proceeding at once to the public-house, a task whichwe happily completed.

The public-house was kept by one Rouse, and stood on a second point, called Rouse's Point. It was a small building, and in no situation for the enjoyment of large business, except from the actual condition of the country. I found it crowded with adventurers in the unlawful trade, for whom it was a rendezvous. Its contiguity to the limits of Canada rendered it convenient, for those who, as opportunity afforded, carried their goods into the province. The custom-house boats spent the night in cruising in the mouth of the lake, and their absence from this shore was to be watched, and turned to advantage.

Stories are continually told, of the comfortless lodgings afforded to travellers in the United States; but, in all parts of New England, even those the most recently settled, I had been oftener led to admire the good accommodations

which I found, and the furniture and manufactures, which industry, enterprise and economy had accumulated, sometimes in very remote situations, than to make any contrary reflection. In particular, a practice has been mentioned, of lodging two or more travellers together. Nothing of this kind had ever yet fallen in my way; but, I was now, not in New England, but in New York; different manners, as I had been led to believe, existed in these quarters; and, at least, the peculiarities of the times and situation were, in this instance, such as might have apologized for almost any thing. In a very small house of logs, I saw at least twenty men; I considered I was so abundantly clothed as to be independent of every accident for the night; and I resigned myself, without a word, to all that was to come. To my surprise, not less than gratification, the mistress of the house so disposed her numerous guests and family as to leave the best room and a four-post bedstead to myself. The room was the common eating-room; and, in the morning, when I was awaked by some voices speaking French with a strong nasal accent, I found the curtains carefully pinned round the bed.

Rouse's Point is part of the town of Champlain, in which certain Canadians and Acadians, who, by joining in the rebellion of the colo-

nists, had forfeited their allegiance, received grants from the United States. It has been said, that the settlement, formed by these people, was subsequently broken up ;* but, though this may in part be true, many of them remain.

To reach Burlington, I was advised to proceed first to Chasy, a settlement six miles to the southward of Rouse's Point, and where there was a probability of meeting with some vessel about to cross the lake. For this voyage, I hired a canoe.

The canoes, in use upon the lake, are hollowed trunks of trees, and therefore such as, for more precision, are called by the French *pirogues*, and by the Spaniards *periaguas ;* the canoe being properly a portable vessel, made of bark or skins.—In adopting the canoe of the Indians, the Europeans sometimes add an out-rigger, which they call a *loo*. A canoe, of eighteen feet in length, is only two feet in width ; but, the *loo*, which consists in a pair of arms, by which the space between the row-locks is extended to the ordinary width of a boat, enables the navigator to work it with oars, instead of paddles. The canoe, in which I now embarked, had a loo.

* See the American Gazetteer.

Our canoe discovering itself to be leaky, we put ashore at the custom-house, which stands at less than a mile from our place of departure, and where there were about forty militia on parade. They were not uniformed, and their situation was as uncomfortable, as their appearance was little respectable. They were the objects, to all the country, either of execration or derision. On the peninsula and a burgh which forms the opposite bank of the lake, there was another custom-house; and, at a point of land on the peninsula, called Windmill Point, another garrison.

Within sight of the custom-house, and under Ile de la Motte, lay a raft of masts and lumber, said to be three quarters of a mile in length; and there was a second raft also in sight, lying under the shore of the peninsula. In these rafts consisted the enemy of which the two garrisons were in watch. The former had no other destination than Quebec, and they were waiting only for a south wind, in order to be floated into Canada. Their captains and crews had wooden cabins or houses upon them, where they lived during the time spent, but they were yet frequently on shore. Nothing short of battle was hourly looked for, and both sides were prepared. On the raft, there were breast-works formed of logs; and the conversation of the

people, and particularly of my canoe-man, who was to fight on board one of the rafts, ran entirely on how many men would compose the crew, and on what quantity of ammunition was in the magazines. Much, as to the seriousness of the conflict, was expected to turn upon accident; because, if the wind should happen to blow directly down the channel, the raft would consequently keep the middle; and in that case, little annoyance would be to be apprehended from the military, which could only act in the custom-house cutters and in other boats. Under such circumstances, it was proposed to make no resistance, but suffer as many to board as would. The raft, being in motion, and in the middle of the stream, it would not be easy to stop it, by any human means; and the collectors of the customs, and the militia, were therefore to be invited to pursue the voyage upon it, as far as they pleased. One of the rafts had ten masts, each with a square sail, and boards were also to be set up, to catch the wind. This would necessarily give a great head-way; and, when boarding was attempted, the boats were to be grappled, and fastened to the raft. If, however, the wind should oblige the raft to pass close under either shore, it would be exposed to a running attack; and, in that case, the

rafters promised themselves to return a fire as smart as they should receive.

At Chasy, there is a village, with a wharf and warehouses, and some appearance of business. In reaching it, we passed Point au Fer, near which are the remains of a fort. Between this point, and Point aux Pommes, which is to the southward, is a bay, in which, and particularly on the points, the lands are said to be good. Along the shore, where there are inhabitants, there are usually potash-works, potash being one of the staples of these recent settlements.

The inhabitants of Chasy are in great proportion Canadian, many speaking only the French language, and many, though speaking English, having French names. Of the latter class is the landlord of a very decent inn, kept at the head of the village. There was a sloop loading at the wharf; but, as she was to wait for an opportunity of escaping the vigilance of the custom-house, I was compelled to seek for another mode of conveyance. Two Canadians were accordingly mentioned, by whom I could be rowed across the lake. While I waited for their coming, I strolled away from the inn; and, on my observing to my landlord, on my return, that I had not yet seen the Canadians, I was answered, "*How the hell should you*, when

" you were out of the way !"—At this time, I had been so long used to the polish of the Canadians, as well as to the decorum of New England, that the expression—coming, too, as it did, from one of a French name—absolutely startled me, as something unnatural. It was said, however, without ill humour, and was a token only of the coarse manners of the country.

Between Chasy and Burlington, the course is south-east, and the distance thirty miles.—The day was exceedingly fine, but without wind in any direction, and the lake was one smooth sheet of water. Incapable, therefore, of deriving assistance from their sail, the Canadians were constantly at the oar. We left Chasy at one o'clock in the afternoon, and did not reach Burlington till near twelve at night.

The lake, for nearly the whole space, is divided lengthwise into almost two equal parts, by two islands, the narrow channel between which is in such a direction as to escape the eye, insomuch that the two islands appear to the eye as one. They seem, too, for this reason, to have been so regarded and named by the French, by whom they were conjointly called *Grand Ile*.

Along the shore of Grand Ile, and in a bay, formed in one of two small islands which lie to the south-west, we saw three additional rafts, all

waiting for a wind. On these rafts there were temporary houses; and, at sunset, the smoke of their fires, stealing in a long line above the water, produced a picturesque appearance.

Passing, by land, from Burlington to Whitehall, at the southern extremity of the lake, and within the territory of New York, I there found the fate of the rafts a subject of public anxiety. The situation of one of the persons, by rank a general, engaged in carrying them into Canada, was spoken of as truly serious. His family, resident in this place, was waiting the issue of the attempt—if he succeeded, he would be able to satisfy his creditors—if he failed, the latter were to seize upon and sell all that he possessed. What made still harder the case of this individual, and, for the most part, of all who were interested in the rafts, was the circumstance, that many, if not all of their contracts with the Quebec merchants had been entered into long before the sudden measure of the interdiction was adopted; that they had perhaps received some advances, and were responsible for the amount; that at least, many months of their own labour had been employed in preparing the timber, and many debts had been incurred in hiring the labour of others; and that what was now demanded by the law, was nothing less, than that the rafters should relin-

quish, not only the earnings of their immediate hands, but the means of meeting the claims to which they had exposed themselves, in the conduct of an expensive undertaking.

I returned, shortly after, by the same route, to Burlington. A south wind had occurred, and the rafts had made their escape, but not without a battle. At Burlington, I embarked in a sloop, which, in her ordinary employment, at this time, was no small offender, but which, for this voyage, was freighted with two pieces of brass cannon, and a detachment of artillery, proceeding to reinforce the garrison at Windmill Point.

We had a prosperous voyage, and, at daybreak, anchored off the custom-house in Champlain. In the morning, in company with another passenger, I put off in the boat, to go on shore at Rouse's Point. We had scarcely left the sloop's side, before a canoe followed us from the custom-house, and the sailors were not without the fears of a guilty conscience. They made light, however, of all that the custom-house could attempt against them, and proceeded to the point in good spirits. The canoe came to land nearly at the same instant with ourselves. On landing, we were instantly told, that the custom-house cutter had been stolen in the night; and we found that the

canoe had brought only a major, whose name I forget, and whose errand it was, to confirm the intelligence, and inquire after the robbers. It appeared, that the cutter, without even a watchman on board, had been moored off the custom-house. At midnight, a party had arrived, entered her, weighed anchor, and hoisted sail. Both General Woolsey, who is the collector, and the major, whom we saw, had been alarmed; but they were alone, and could effect nothing. All their assistants, civil and military, were away, cruising on the lake; and, though some shot were interchanged, between the major and the robbers, the latter had succeeded in the enterprise. The major regretted, that the brass cannon had not arrived the night before; and we recommended, that great care should now be taken, to save them from the thieves.

With respect to both garrisons, the most miserable accounts were given. Many of the militia-men had returned to their homes. The situation at Windmill Point was said to be particularly bad. A great want of provisions was complained of; and it was even said, that the men were in the practice of deserting their posts in the night, to buy milk, and other food, within the limits of Canada.

The cutter, which had been sailed into Canada, was, at a period shortly subsequent, re-

stored to the custom-house, but only in consequence of a submission, on the part of the latter, to terms. The robbers had been previously *robbed*, as they termed it, of a boat, laden with pork and potash, found in the act of entering the province. The boat, pork and potash being returned, the cutter, which had been taken on the principle of reprisal, was returned also. The robbery was committed in the night of the twenty-fifth of June, 1808.

At Rouse's Point, I met again my canoe-man, by whom I had been carried to Chasy. He had been in the battle of the rafts. It had taken place in the dark; and, the raft having been carried close under the shore, the military had accompanied her progress for two hours, firing from among the woods. More than a thousand shot had been fired; but no damage had been sustained on board the raft, except that a bullet had torn the breast of one man's shirt. The military were not said to have suffered at all. According to my informant, the latter arriving, in the pursuit, at a part of the shore which was cleared of its woods, were driven, by a hot fire from the raft, into some potash-kettles, where they were left.

In February, 1809, the general exasperation had reached a higher level. Murder had been committed. Regular troops were stationed, and

these troops were compelled to endure every insult and outrage. The army of the United States is also but little acquainted with discipline. Stopping at an inn at Swanton Falls, where some of the soldiery were quartered, the centinel, on my quitting the sleigh, went up to it, and began to meddle with its contents. A person, at the door, bade me turn round, for that he would probably steal something; and his officer, who was at the door also, directing him, in the military phrase, to "Walk about," he retired, answering, "Well, I *am* walking about."

The story of the day was such as manifested the temper of the people, and their method of indulging it. The road was at this time filled with loads of cotton; and a traveller had informed, or was charged with having informed, the collector, of some cotton which had become liable to seizure. The report was, that the cotton-carriers had seized upon the traveller, and cut his harness, his portmanteau and his fur-cap to pieces, and cut off the ears of his horses.

From the first laying on of the interdiction, almost to the very date of its removal, new statutes had been successively passed, enforcing its observance. The enemies of the government had contended loudly, that the constitution was violated by the interdiction itself; but, though the truth of this doctrine may be at least dispu-

table, certain it is, that in more than one of the statutes passed to enforce the interdiction, the United States proclaimed, to all the world, and to all time, how empty are the pretensions of popular governments, as guardians of civil liberty. A system of confidence, in the government and its officers is become a favourite doctrine in the United States; and so far was this system acted upon by congress, in regard to the interdiction, that impatient of the arts and frauds by which it was broken through, this body enacted, that the collectors should be allowed to seize upon all goods which they suspected to be on their way to a foreign market!

A provision like this is the result only of legislative desperation. It is not law, but a denial of law; and all that remains is a question of force. But, in agitating the question of force, Lake Champlain is sure of a favourable result. Its communication with the Saint-Lawrence cannot be cut off. In summer, it has a navigation which the inhabitants of its banks are able to keep open, against all efforts of the United States for its obstruction; and, in winter, it has an extensive frontier, along which the space between every two trees affords a road. This frontier extends on the east of the lake ninety miles; and, on the west, the banks of the Saint-Lawrence are still more

accessible than on the other. It is also known, that the interdiction has had the effect of affording, to the merchants of Boston and New York, an increased acquaintance with the advantages to be derived from the port of Quebec; and, that at Burlington, a company has even been formed, offering to take all risks of the trade, at a certain per centage profit.

While we read only with disgust many of the effusions of ignorance, sophistry and revolt, which proceeded, during the continuance of the interdiction, from the sufferers in Vermont, it were at the same time unfair not to acknowledge the provocation which they experienced, not only as sharers in the common calamity, but from the peculiarities of their situation. Nor, indeed, can we shut our eyes, to any of the features of that unparalleled scene which was presented, where the strength of the government was employed in taking from the citizen the means of his livelihood, and the reward of his industry. Other governments, by acts of imbecility or wickedness, have drawn upon their people the widest, the deepest and the most needless injuries; and it may even be said, that the most regular act, such as an ordinary declaration of war involves, under all circumstances, the creation of domestic evil:—all this is true; but, in such cases, the injury is either incidental and

not direct, or, being direct, the blow comes from the hand of the enemy, and not that of the government. An act of a government may have the effect of depriving its citizens of some benefit, and it may have the effect of drawing down upon them some affliction; but, in neither instance, is the government the immediate and personal actor. To see a government waging a war, like that before us, with its population; to see it lift deadly weapons against those who seek but to pursue peaceably their labours, can only recal to our imagination the picture, presented in a former chapter of this book—that of a father dealing the axe upon the heads of his own children!

But, whatever were the merits of the interdiction, of the means by which it was attempted to be enforced, or of the evasion or resistance it experienced, the facts adduced may show, that the empire of the United States is but conditional, and as it were nominal, upon Lake Champlain. The lake has interests of its own, and interests which it has the will and the power to pursue, in freedom from all exterior control.

THE END

Bancroft Collection.
Purchased in 1893.